[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

interrupted. So, please adjourn the House for Lunch now and I will start my speech after the Lunch Break.

12.56 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock

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14.04 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Confidence moved by hon. Prime Minister. I convey to him and to his Government our best wishes and support so that this Government is able to fulfil its commitment to the people.

Sir, I do sincerely hope and believe that our friends in Tamil maanila Congress will join the Government, and I believe that Shri Chidambaram has chosen the right seat to go to his reserved place on the first row of the Treasury Benches.

I have nothing to hide. Whatever may have been the media perception or whatever may be the perception in the minds of my friends in the Tamil Maanila Congress, I can tell everybody and to the country that my leader, Comrade Jyoti Basu, has personally spoken to Shri Moopanar and requested him to join the Government. I myself have had the occasion to talk to Shri Chidambaram. Probably, I had spoken on too many occasions in the past two days. It is not a question of surrendering to anything, to anybody, because we want the cohesive forces to run the state of affairs, so far as the present Government is concerned. Therefore, I sincerely hope, once again, that there will be reconsideration and sooner than later Shri Chidambaram will also take over again the difficult mantle of the Finance Minister of this country, and will pilot the Finance Bill.

Sir I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister for his most illuminating speech on the floor of this House, this morning. When I was listening to him, I felt that it was a speech which we could consider as the testament of our faith and commitment, a testament of hope, to the people of this country.

Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has referred to so many important national issues and has expressed his Government's resolve to deal with the same. He has spoken to and I would like to specifically refer to the concept of social justice, of economic progress of this country. He has referred to the problems of women and his resolve to help in the development of women. He has spoken of the need for spread of education. He has expressed his concern for environment. He has committed his resolve to continue with poverty alleviation programmes. He has expressed his concern for population growth, which is one of the problems facing this country. He has spoken about our foreign policy, which is based on consensus. He has given his commitment to transparency and accountability. He has given his commitment that nobody will be spared, whoever is guilty will be brought to book. He has given special emphasis for farmers and workers. He has emphasised on the need for stability, secularism and social justice in this country. And he has appealed for consensus in the governance.

Sir, I would like to know which part of it the BJP does not approve of. He had appealed for a consensus. My friends in the BJP have rejected that. The hand of cooperation that was extended to it has been expressly jettisoned because the BJP does not believe in cooperation. It only believes in confrontation. They feel that out of that, they may get some benefit.

Sir, I was closely listening, without any interruption as we are accustomed to get from that side, to Shrimati Sushma Swaraj's brilliant speech. Now, Sir, television telecast has egged upon many of us; histrionics has become a very important element of our performance in this House.

Some are more adepts and some are less adepts. Some one like me is a total miserable failure so far as histrionics is concerned. But I have not found a single word which she spoke where she contradicted any of the commitments that the Prime Minister made, or any of the issues that he had mentioned. She did not say a single word about them. She did not say with which part of the policy expressed by the hon. Prime Minister the BJP did not agree. No doubt, she has given us sermons. I shall come to some of them.

BJP talks these days of democratic national front and also nationalism as if that is their monopoly and as if their commitment to nationalism is their monopoly. We are also nationalists. But we talk of strong, progressive and secular India which the BJP does not talk.

SHRI SANAT MEHTA (Surendra Nagar) : Now they have realised it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I can understand why they are upset. I had proposed and some of the friends here also proposed that this Motion of Vote of Confidence could have been passed without any discussion because we had a very thorough discussion the other day only, ten or eleven days back. But the BJP insisted on this and some of my friends on this side have to reconsider, I think, their opposition to that. However, we are having this discussion. But now I can understand why they are so virulent in their opposition. It is because they find once again that the secular forces in this country have exhibited that they wish to remain together, maybe under a new leader, but they are committed to maintain the secular fabric of this country and that at no circumstance they will surrender to the forces of fundamentalism.

My friends in the BJP do not understand why so many parties, apparently disparate — we have got different policies, different programmes and different perceptions — are supporting this Government from within and outside and why they want this Government to continue and to fulfil its commitments made in the Common Minimum Programme. BJP does not choose to take note of this fact that, come what may, there are many many political parties in this country who constitute a vast majority — not less than 75 per cent of the people of this country are represented by Members sitting on this side, on the Congress benches and these other benches — who have not succumbed to this communal propaganda in this country and who have remained together for the purpose of strengthening the secular forces in this country. Therefore, we wish to tell my friends on BJP benches that "Please take note of this fact." You may be today the largest party because of some arithmetic, but you do not represent the largest section of the people of this country. Your vote has not exceeded 25 per cent altogether. Now Shrimati Sushma Swaraj has referred to some of the by-elections and they say they are the only cohesive party in this country.

I have seen in Gujarat that 70 year old plus old gentleman fighting to cover up his nakedness. Somebody had to give him a *dhoti* and that was in the presence of the top ranking leaders of the BJP.

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : He was given a banner.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I do not know whether they followed you or you followed them later on. I hope you do not follow them.

SHRI SANAT MEHTA : They followed you.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes. They followed me and covered the nakedness.

The point is this. One State is out of your control. As a student of politics, I am not happy that parties are getting divided and subdivided on the basis of persons, not on the basis of policies and programmes.

But this has happened in your party. And you are lamenting! Why should this Government or how can a Government continue if it is not cohesive? The United Front is not cohesive! How can you expect 13 parties to be together? They have different programmes, different aspirations. There are regional parties here who have never operated earldoer at the national level. Their perceptions are totally different. But the question is that we have to sustain and uphold certain basic values. That is why, in spite of our fundamental differences with the Congress Party — everybody knows about it, there is no question of hiding it — we want that at least there should be a Government which believes in the constitutional mandate, which believes in the secular fabric of this country, which will support the implementation of the Common Minimum on which we have been able to find some acceptability. Let us at least do that. We cannot have a political vacuum or administrative vacuum in Delhi, at the Centre of this country. There must be a Government.

What type of Government do you want? We are always reminded that we have supposedly committed a grave sin on the 28th of May. Today, again Sushmaji referred to it. According to me, 28th of May was the day of national deliverance because on that day the Vajpayee Government fell. They would not agree with my perception. But what was my obligation to keep them in Government? We are told everytime that we wanted the BJP Government to go. Of coures, I wanted them to go. I will fight every moment to see that they do not come back to power. I have said it in spite of my great weakness for Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee. I have said that he may be allowed to become or remain permanently as an ex-Prime Minister and some of my friends as ex-Ministers for ever.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI BHAVNABEN DEVRAJ BHAI CHIKHALIYA (Junagarh) : The time will tell.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : remember those 13 days. Even our good friend Shri Sikander Bakht lost four days as he did not go to that office which was selected for him. And they had to capitulate. I ask them to tell this country : What did they do in those 13 days except to try to win over persons for the purpose of sustaining their minority Government? I got that information. Vajpayeeji halted his eloquent speech at the luncheon recess by saying that we must have a respite from this. They did give the approval to the ENRON project. I am not imputing mala fides. But what sort of governance did they disclose on that day? What sort of commitment did they exhibit on that day? They knew that they were in a minority. They knew that every minute of those 13 days they were in minority. With all respect, have said earlier also that it was a sad day in so far as I was concerned as a student of constitutional history, that without giving their assurance to hon. Rashtrapatiji that they would be in a position to have a majority support, you agreed to form a Government. They did form a Government. They tried to get outside support for 13 days and they did not get that support. Ultimately, Vajpayeeji did not have the courage to face the division on the floor of the House. What is the good of lamenting the 28th of May? What happened? Did they expect that the CPM would support them? Did they expect that the Janata Dal would support them? I do not know whether they thought that the Congress would support them.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : They can never think of that.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev says that they should not have thought of that also.

[Translation]

SHRI RAGHUNANDAN LAL BHATIA (Amritsar) : There is no disputes between them. They can stay here.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Thank you very much. You need not have reminded me. I am coming to that.

Yes. I know, I had the great privilege of being here, almost a toddler in parliamentary politics and I had a great experience of attending Shri V.P. Singh's house.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : On breakfast, every Tuesday.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Not, breakfast. Dinner.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Dinner.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why do you grudge a dinner? You did not allow for long ...*(Interruptions)*

In Shri V.P. Singh's house, what were we doing? We were trying to discuss what should be done; we were trying to have some sort of coordination, some sort of working arrangement because you know those were the days of aftermath of emergency. The people of the country had voted the Congress out...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No, no...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : May be long after Emergency. But that was still there.

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK : Dada also said it. You might join with them but not Congress ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai North) : Wrong advocacy ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Thank you very much. After all, I am becoming old. I have become old. Now, we try to be so near that the Congress is having its effect on me also.

The point is, the BJP withdrew its support from Shri V.P. Singh's Government and on the same day, as you did on the 11th of April, you voted with the Congress to vote that Government out. Then what are your sermons today? They could join with the Congress in voting out Shri V.P. Singh's Government. They can join with the Congress on the same day in voting out Shri Deve Gowda's Government. And, today if we come together only for the purpose of maintaining the secular fabric without being in the Government, they are giving me sermons. Do they think that the people of this country will accept this? They have expressed their hopes and aspirations...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, Sushmaji has spoken that the Congress support is not certain. Well, this has to be the position here. What can be done? Of coures, I still do not know why they withdraw the support. Shri Sharad Pawar has tried his best today. He has said something. Well, it is for them to decide. We have expressed our views. I remember, on the last occasion also, on 11th of April, I made an appeal to them that if they had something, they may come and discuss. Like matured people, they may sit across the table and decide. I had said that. All of us are nature people.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : You have not understood why we withdrew. Have you understood why did they withdraw? Try to solve that now.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You cannot provoke me.

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani) : You are already provoked...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, she has referred to the Economic Policy of this Government. Well, today we read in the papers that Advaniji has given his strongest support to this Government's policies. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi has reservations, I know. In some of the matters, we are agreeing. I do not know, what is his position in his Party for that.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI (Allahabad) : Our Party is uniform...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : There is a division. Where there is a division, there may be differences in perceptions...*(Interruptions)*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : You seem to agree more with this Government's policy.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : On one or two issues, yes, because you are separated from the mainstream of your party.

Shrimati Sushma Swaraj has expressed grave concern for Shri Chidambaram's baby. Well, the father has not jettisoned the baby because the mother was busy with something. He had to have a little concern for the baby. Today, the mother has been able to persuade the father and the father will come and occupy his seat in the House. But the point is this. What are their objections to this Government's economic policy? We have some reservations.

It is the national demand today that we have to find out a common minimum basis for functioning, for having a Government. They are not able to reconcile themselves to coalition politics here, but what are they doing? I mentioned during my last speech that they were themselves entering into arrangements in different coalitions with different parties in different States. They are now talking about a 'national democratic front', trying to get the TMC into it and trying to get everybody into it. What is this 'national democratic front' to be composed of? Which are the parties? Thus, they are also trying to have coalitions. They are actually practising coalition politics.

In West Bengal, for the last twenty years, we are also carrying on and continuing with coalition Governments. My Party, the CPI(M) could have formed a Government on its own every time, but we have not done that. We have a broad base of Left politics. The Left Parties have come together. For twenty years, we have been able to do that.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : You have a majority there.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes, we have got absolute majority. That is true. But other Parties are also there. They are the honourable Ministers of the Government of West Bengal. Therefore, these realities have to be admitted.

They practise it themselves, but they lecture to others, to the country. This is not understandable. They are hoping that if somehow elections are held tomorrow, they are supposed to be the beneficiaries. It is because of this reason that they want that elections should be held in this country every year. This is the concern that we express. We say that the left Parties are not averse to going to polls. But is that desirable for this country? We spend so much money. All development processes are halted because every time elections are announced, for two to three months, nothing could be done. The Government is prevented from taking any new policy decision, implementing any new activity or work on development. Who is going to benefit out of this? It is only their dream. They felt that — they had a dream — they could come back to power if there were elections. Therefore, we tried — along with other Parties — to avoid elections, if possible without compromising our principles and policies.

This is the position today. Shri H.D. Deve Gowda has resigned; the United Front has elected a Leader; we still remain outside; and the Congress still remains outside the Government. They have said that they would support this Government. I am glad that Shri I.K. Gujral has assumed this important Office. With the goodwill and support that he has been getting within the country and from outside, I think, he has already made a good beginning and I express my support to this Government.

Shrimati Sushma Swaraj has been a little bit carried away today by her emotions. She is very much concerned about my Party, our principles, our commitments, our policies and what would happen to us. She is concerned whether we will be able to maintain our commitment to Marxism and socialism.

Their sole commitment is to what had happened on the 6th December, 1992. How can this nation forget what had happened on 6th December, 1992? I know that they would not like to be reminded about that incident....*(Interruptions)* I know that they would not like to be reminded of the 6th December, 1992. I have said it earlier and I still say that was the day of national shame. That was the day when a deliberate attempt was made to bring in a state of affairs that the people of this country shudder to think.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : You were saying it a glorious day. Did Atal Bihari Vajpayee termed it as a glorious day on that day? No he did not say it...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Many of us sympathise with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He is totally a prisoner of the saffron clad gentlemen there. I know his first reaction was a reaction of sadness. He almost apologised, if not actually apologised. But then he had to indulge in prevarication. Shri Lal Kishna Advani also had to swallow what he had said initially and Shri Jaswant Singh kept mum. He did not open his mouth. Otherwise, his commitment to army discipline would have come out. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi was resting in the other Chamber where there was not much tension.

Sir, what was the message that the world got? What was the massage that was given to this country? Today, there are friends on the other side who have been emboldened to talk about Kashi and Mathura. Are these part of BJP's national agenda? Are they part of BJP's national agenda? Are they part of BJP's programmes and policies?

I do not know about Shri Surjit Singh Barnala. Maybe due to compulsions in Punjab, you might have joined hands with BJP. But, I know, you will be soon disillusioned with BJP. I think it has started already. Shri Nitish Kumar has already got fractured. I do not know about this motley combination. You know who would be swallowed by whom. We can try to understand.

Today, I speak in support of this Motion because this country has to be saved, the people of this country have to be saved, this country has to develop, this country has to progress and the common people of this country have to be looked after. We have to spread education. We have to implement poverty alleviation programmes. I hope this Government will totally commit itself to the maintenance of the true ethos of this country and culture of this country which is fighting against communalism and divisiveness.

I could understand as to why Shri Jaswant Singh was asked to request for time for discussion on the Motion in this House. I find my friends in BJP, while

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

participating in these kinds of debates which are telecast, do not address the other Members of the House, but to the people outside. That may temporarily serve your purpose, but will not ultimately do. I am sure that the secular people of this country will never, never accept BJP's Government neither now nor in the future.

Sir, before I resume my seat, may I take one or two minutes more?

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South Central) : I would like to know whether Congress is secular ...*(Interruptions)* They have been saying hare for last five years that Congress is not secular...*(Interruptions)* I did not say that. They have been saying like that. Shri Indrajit Gupta ji was saying that ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please take your seat.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Probably my friend from Shiv Sena, Shri Mohan Rawale is a nice man outside. He is absolutely wonderful outside. I sometimes wonder how can such good people associate themselves with such parties.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South Central) You are also good. How are you saying like this? You have been saying for the last five years that congress is not secular. Shri Indrajit Gupta was saying like that. Shri Sharad Pawar has just said that. Have you changed yourself?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I did not say so we have not changed ourselves. They have changed. They fully support secular forces.

[English]

Now your are asking me as to whether the Congress party is secular or not. But the Congress Party has made that commitment now. At least you admit that you are not secular.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Now, it will be done. You have said in the House. That congress is not secular. Now you are seeking support from them.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You leader has seen you.

I do not want to take a long time. Shri Sharad Pawar made a very balanced speech today, I must say. Last time, he was not allowed to speak...*(Interruptions)* Was he allowed to speak? All right, sorry, last time he did not offer himself as a speaker, but he has made it up with vengeance today. I find that it is good. Now still say that I have not understood the real reason. From whatever he said now, I take it that he would continue to support this Government. He has shown some concern about the back seat driving by the CPI(M) Party...*(Interruptions)* He has said that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : That is true. But what the Prime Minister said was different—about *moochwala* and *dadiwala*. We are concerned about that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He has not referred to me. He knows, whom he has referred to ...*(Interruptions)* Shri Inder Kumar Gujral is not so naive that he would get into your trap!

Very well, they are now objecting to the back seat driving; and therefore, they have come to the front seat...*(Interruptions)* Now, there is an admission that they want to be in the front seat and that they have come back to the front seat. But please see that you are not rocking the boat.

Therefore, what we want is this. We are making a great experiment and there is no doubt that. It is an experiment which we will have to make in the context of the present political situation when no party has a majority. One thing is very clear. Even after the Lok Sabha elections, the people of UP did not vote for a single party in UP elections. The mood of the people is not to confer absolute power or absolute support to any of the parties. What will happen then? Should we throw up our arms and say that there will be no administration? We have to have a Government; we have to have an administration.

In this context, we have to find out how best we can serve the people of this country. After all, this is the forum to which people are looking forward to. Parliament has to find out a method; the Lok Sabha has to find out a method because the Government remains accountable to the Lok Sabha. How to provide a Government in this country? Therefore, we are extremely keen that when a new Government has come, it should be supported. We were supporting the earlier Government; we were supporting Shri Deve Gowda. But he is not here now. Our very distinguished friend and a leader of this country, Shri I.K. Gujral is now occupying this seat and adorning this seat. Therefore, we feel that the nation owes it to him; Parliament owes it to him to give all the support.

Once again, I also appeal to them, as Mr. Prime Minister has done. He has mentioned issues of great importance.

And I consider that some of these issues should comprise our national agenda, whatever party may be in the Government, like the question of economic progress, the question of population, education and social justice. Are these all matters of parties and politics? But we are not addressing ourselves to them.

If Shri Inder Kumar Gujral can permeate that spirit amongst the people of the country and different political parties, he will be achieving a great success.

Sir once again, I wish him all success in his great endeavour and grand journey that he has commend today. Let us all consider that this country is bigger than anybody else and greater than any party and any leader. Therefore, we must uphold the best traditions of this country to which some reference has been made by our Prime Minister. Sir, we wish him all success and let us commit ourselves to upholding the great traditions of socialism and secularism in this country. That is why, I support this Motion.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV) : Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I rise to support the confidence motion moved by the Hon. Prime Minister.

Why was United Front formed? The people of this country gave the mandate for formation of United Front since no party obtained the clear majority. We are ready to accept this mandate and I cannot say anything in this regard. So far as the objective, resolution and work of United Front are concerned we are committed to protect the unity and integrity of the country. The minorities are in a large number in the country and Shri Somnath Chatterjee has rightly said that we shall remind of the incident of 6th December again and again so that our friends on the opposite side may change their mind...*(Interruptions)*. They are afraid of me. I know that you are afraid of me.

Sir, the demolition of Masjid on December 6, 1992, have created apprehensions in the minds of minorities of the country is not a good omen for unity and integrity of the country. That is why the United Front was formed. By forming United Front, we would like to instil confidence in the minds of minorities of the country that we shall ensure justice, respect and regard for the minorities which was promised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji and Maulana Azad on 15th August, 1947. Their belief was shattered after the incident of December 6, 1992. The United Front has been formed to maintain their belief. You must recall that I had said that I would act in accordance with the Constitution and law in Ayodhya, without any consideration whether we remain in power or we may lost the power. We can sacrifice our Government but we must fulfil the promises made by Gandhiji, Nehruji, Lohiaji and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and today, we are fulfilling those promises. Only therefore, they are supporting us...*(Interruptions)* You may make any efforts but I shall reitrate that this United Front is united like a rock. So far as differences are concerned, it is natural in democratic system. We have proved not only in India but in the eintire World that we have forgone dlifferences in the name of religion, caste, language, religion, men and women and we have united...*(Interruptions)* we would like to make you understand that this Government...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No running commentary please.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : You will understand this thing after 30 years, Here circumstances are changing rapidly but we do not want to go into that matter. We have shown this confidence to the entire world that we are strongly defending the country. So far as the replacement of Shri Deve Gowda is concerned, you are telling us that we have changed our leader ...*(Interruptions)* you please keep quite, we know them very well...*(Interruptions)* Let me complete my submission. Why are you wasting time?

Sir, the resignation of Shri Gowdaji has further aggravated the apprehensions in the minds of minorities and the challenge of the communal forces which we had accepted, has also aggravated. We were realising that challenge but now our congress brothers are also realising the same challenge. Hence they have supported us again. We do not want to repeat these things ...*(Interruptions)* Somnath Chatterjee has already told that BJP had also withdrawn nis support. First they withdrew their support at the centre in 1990 and later they withdrew their support from Uttar Pradesh government just after four and half months of the formation of the Government. They have double face we have one face only ...*(Interruptions)* We have single face in the matter of principles. We are committed to our principles. Atalji, we are adhered to our promises but you do not take time in deviating from your principles ...*(Interruptions)* It is true that we are having the same spirit in our mind as you are expressing. After becoming Prime Minister when I heard Shri Vajpayee's speech, his definition of Rashtriya Svayam Sevak Sangh and Hinduism, my trust towards him has shaken ...*(Interruptions)* Now you praise him but we can not do so ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He is a good person but his company is bad.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We will not praise you till you do not leave that group...*(Interruptions)* It is true.

SHRI LALMUNI CHAUBEY : Keeping in view the allegations against you it is good if you do not praise anybody.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon'ble Members, it is alright to make comment once a while but it is not proper to make comment every time.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Our new Prime Minister has taken over the charge. So far as Gujaral Sahab is concerned, as some of our colleagues know and as he himself stated that he get inspiration from his mother and father to join politics. As he himself has stated and history knows that he went to jail as a congressman under tue leadership of Gandhiji. He is son of the parents who believed in secularism. He struggled for secularism throughout his life due to his

[Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav]

education, capability and talent...*(Interruptions)* I will tell it later on as to why you are allergic of Russia. I was surprised to hear it from you. I will mention about it later on. He said that the person living in Russia has been made Prime Minister. I was surprised to hear it. How loyal they are towards the country. I will tell you later on. I will also tell as to how our friendship with Russia was strengthened during his perioed. Today I am glad that he is leading us, United Front and the country by following the principles of his father. Under his leadership communal forces will not only defeat but also destroy. We have United to evtroy Commercial forces and fundamentalist forces. Whether there may be difference among us...*(Interruptions)* you express your views openly.

The forming of United Front Government has caused jealousy among the opposition party. They were thinking that now they would get opportunity to form a Government.

They were talking about forming a National Front with the support of regional parties and T.M.C. Shri Chidambaram was sitting here but now he has gone. Will he support you? He would join the Government very shortly. We all are appealing to him. Because of this appeal he is talking to us on this issue. There is only one way to assuage your feelings that first of all communal forces should desist from the demand of abrogation of Article 370.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : You are expressing your views openly.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Yes, I am expressing my views openly and I always speak openly. You refrain from the demand of Uniform Civil code or Personal law. You delete Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi from your agenda for ever. Then you can form the government. Hon'ble Atalji has said that agenda can never be changed. I am sure that you can never come into power till we people are here. I am sure about it.

SHRI UTTAM SINGH PAWAR (Jalna) : People would give you reply of it.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : People have elected us. We have been elected by the people not by you. I am not talking of today. I would like to bring it into the notice of the people of the country. Many scholars and other people are sitting here. There is no fight between Hindus and Muslims in this country but it is between fundamentalist Hindus and moderate Hindus. You can see old history. I do not want to take more time of the House but I would like to submit that fundamentalists have never won in India. They have always been defeated. You can not come into Power until you believe in fundamentalism...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Deputy Speaker, whatever Gandhiji, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Nehruji have said on secularism and socialism, we would follow those policies and check the communal forces in a manner that they will learn a lesson from it. This is our policy Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, wherever they are in power, atrocities are being committed on the Minorities in those States. We have never heard the incident like Dilerganj in the history. The girls in the age group of 8-8, 14-14, 16-16 years were stripped, 31 houses of Muslims were torched and turn the legs of 8 years old girls in Pratapgarh. This is happening in Pratapgarh district of Uttar Pradesh where they are supporting the Government this is the first example in the world that post mortem was conducting but she was creamated in Allahabad instead of Pratapgarh or Dilerganj and no enquiry has been conducted in this regard. Muslims were shot dead by police in Ghaziabad two youths were killed in Rampur.

DR. RAMESH CHAND TOMAR (Hapur) : You are stating wrong facts. We were present in Ghaziabad. Riots were occurred under the provocation of the local people and your people are instigating the riots in the entire Uttar Pradesh...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Deputy Speaker, two muslim youths were shot dead in Rampur. This Government has committed atrocities in Mathura, Gazipur and Mau. I do not want to say more because the matter would become very lengthy. I would like the cite example regarding the killing of my party leaders and workers. President of student union in Kashi Vidhiya Peeth was killed on 5th or 6th, General Secretary of our party was killed in Bahraich. Who are involved in these killings? No one has been arrested and no action has been taken in this regard. That is why there is apprehension in the minds of the minorities and we would always remain united, remove those aprehension. Our United Front Government would complete its full term as Sh. Sharad Pawar has said...*(Interruptions)* You do not have tolerance to listen. You belong to a socalled disciplined party. You talk about nationalism I would mention about it later on. Atalji knows as to how disciplined you are. When he was Prime Minister what happened in Gujarat? Had you controlled the situation in time, the party would have not faced this situation in Gujarat. You talk to provide a stable Government. You had absolute majority in Gujarat, why could you not run government there? Our Government did not interfere in the matters of Rajasthan Government in any way otherwise that Government could have not lasted even for a week...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : Have you ever visited Jaipur.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : You are expert in making propaganda. After delivering a speech of 32 minutes in Jaipur I returned to Kanpur as a person had died there and there was conference of our workers also.

14.59 hrs.

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*]

He was creamated on reaching Kanpur but there can be no two opinions that you have been indulging in vicious propoganda and rumour-mongering. Now you might have been satisfied as to why I had paid a visit to Jaipur?

As far as the people opposing the coalition Government are concerned, to whichever party they may belong, they are imprudent and selfish persons. We do not say so to you but what are the options before the country except running a coalition Government?

15.00 hrs.

When no single party enjoys a majority, then a coalition Government would have to be run. Necessity of holding fresh elections is often held out on the plea that they alone would give a stable Government. We are not afraid of elections. But at present there is no need of elections. We would like to thank the Congress party, which has averted elections by extending its support to us and has thus helped the country avoid going to polls, but you people are not the least bothered about matters of development, water, electricity and roads in the country. Your programme and agenda is to spread hatred, fomenting riots and violence. That is why it is your constant refrain that elections should be conducted and elections are the only solution of it. It is made out as if the people of the country would give them their full support as soon as elections are held, like what has happened twice in Uttar Pradesh....*(Interruptions)*. I would be just telling you whether the Bhartiya Janata Party is heading towards majority or not. You are trying to misguide the people of the country by presenting false data, but the people of the country have understood you very well. We would not like to waste time by repeating those things.

The Coalition Governments are being run. Sharad Pawer ji has already said that such Governments are running in various parts of the country. You yourself are running one in Maharashtra and have started another in Uttar Pradesh....*(Interruptions)*. We would not run the Government like you, that for three months you run, for another six months some other may run, for three months and for four months we would run. What is it? Is it the stability? It is neither the stability nor the principles. It is unprincipled and nothing but lure for power. The methodology of six months each for each of the two partners has been adopted just to stick to power. You run for six months and we would run for six months. If you really have no lust for power then declare it in the House that you would continue to give support to the Government in Uttar Pradesh. We would continue to support to the Government in Uttar Pradesh. We would continue to fight there and bear the atrocities. Atrocities are committed on thousands of our workers in Uttar Pradesh. We would tolerate it. But if you do not have any self interest, if you have any principle and if you are not keen to stick to power then you should announce that you would continue to give support in Uttar Pradesh, like Sharad Pawarji has stated that the Congress would continue giving support to us. Therefore, you cannot run a stable Government.

As far as your principles are concerned, they are always lop-sided. There is nothing in your speech which may reflect concern for the country, its development or creating harmony. Some of our colleagues here say in their speech that when Mulayam Singhji takes the floor, Members automatically get provoked. We never cause excitement. We talk about principles and are talking again. We do so to make the country powerful. You are laughing today as has been your practise earlier also. Elections were held in Pakistan. In the previous elections Nawaj Shariff had asked for votes by votes by making anti-India propaganda and when we raised the issue of confederation, it reached the youth there and in Bangladesh too. But this time when Nawaj Shariff contested elections, he said that if he wins, cordial relations would be developed with India, and he won the elections. The confederation would be, formed, if not today then tomorrow or 50 years later. They will have to form it. The confederation would be formed and we would be powerful. We would create an atmosphere to put forth our views before the public and a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh would be set up as there is no other way to make the nation except this. You used to make fun of and laugh at it....*(Interruptions)* Now, the public would decide whether I would be Defence Minister, Prime Minister or the Chief Minister....*(Interruptions)* We want unity because it would make the country strong, when the country would be strong then this confederation would be the most powerful in the world and no country would look askance at it. The responsibility for it lies with us and with the atmosphere we create here. To fulfil the dream of Samajwadi party, we have been fighting throughout our lives irrespective of whether we are in power or out of. We have learnt it from Socrates ....*(Interruptions)*. Principle comes afterwards. Gandhiji became a martyr but his name cannot be erased by changing the syllabus to any extent whatsoever. In the States where their party is in power, portions of texts about Gandhiji in the Syllabus are being deleted. As soon as their Government came to power in Uttar Pradesh, the pages or lessons regarding Gandhiji were deleted. They cannot wipe out Gandhiji. Sometime they would say that they regard Gandhiji as Father of the Nation, at another time would say that they do not regard him as such, as if it were they who had made him the Father of the Nation. Subhash Chandra Bose, who had sacrificed his life for the nation had called Gandhiji the Father the Nation. Whether we had said or they had said so! They are not ready to accept Gandhiji as the Father of the Nation. They do not have faith in Gandhiji, who demonstrated to the whole world how the path of non-violence can be treaded. Earlier in 1980 they had said that they would take the path of Gandhiji but changed their stand in 1985. Perhaps Atalji had put forth this aspect, I do not really know but he could not have his way.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : He had confessed it in Nagpur.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAY : Yes, he had confessed in Nagpur but after that he has changed. They keep changing their faces, they do not take kindly to this assertion. Respected Somnathji may please remind them. Hon. Atalji had expressed his regrets here but one of his colleagues said in Calcutta that the labourers would have taken three months to demolish the mosque while they the Sangh people demolished it in just three hours and that he was proud of it. This is what he said in Calcutta. All the colleagues from Calcutta irrespective of the party they may belong to, are present here. They have two faces. They express regrets here in the House while their colleagues delivers the speech in Calcutta and claim that the labourers would have demolished the mosque in three months while they demolished it in just 3 hours and that they we proud of it and had no repentance. Then we can never expect them to ever stick to their principles. Sometimes they would abuse them and oppose them and at another they would adopt them. In contrast, our principles are clear. The gap between us and them would narrow down, if they change their ways, change their stand on the Muslims, Ayodhya, Kashi, Mathura, Muslim personal law and Article 370. If that happens, the nation would be strengthened but they know that if they change their ways they will suffer losses. They want to came to power by inflamming the sentiments of the Hindus, who are in a majority. I had already said that between the fundamentalist Hindus and liberal Hindus there has been constant conflict which will continue in future also. I would like to urge upon the Muslim brethren through this House that they should not worry at all. Unitl, we as well as the other liberal Hindus are there, the Muslims need not come forward I would like to urge upon the entire nation that we would be winners in the conflict....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOHAN BEER (Muzaffar Nagar) : Mulayam Singhji, did you, on your part, encouraged communalism, goondaism and casteism?....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Therefore, we have come together to weaken the communal forces and to defend the country. We reiterate this thing time and again that we have not come together for power.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Have you become a candidate?

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Yes, we have become the candidate. What was in it. We have united also. Our unity has disturbed your mind and your heart is burining. It is true and I am happy that our colleague Shri Beni Prasad Vermaji has asked me that I had been with Chandra Shekharji. On the birth-day of a veteran leader, I had spoken on 21st March, 1991 in Lucknow on non-Congressism since we used to be in that party. I was a Member of Legislative Assembly. When the resolution was passed in Kota and when the press asked us whether it was our principle, I had said that this is not the principle but it is the political strategy since we have faced it. When we used to seek votes in 1967, the people used to say that they would definitely vote for us but the Government would be formed by the Congress party. Meaning thereby that none could remove Congress party from power in the country. Therefore, to make the people realise we worked out the non-Congress strategy in 1967 in which you also took part and as a result of it non-Congress Governments were formed in nine states, Chaudhary Charan Singh became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh at that time. At that time, there was the monopoly of Congress and to show to the people that there is no monopoly of Congress in India, we worked out that strategy. Various leaders like Acharya Narendre Dev, Jai Prakashji etc. who took part in the National Movement were in it....*(Interruptions)*.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Where had the congress its monopoly.....*(Interruptions)* there was no monopoly....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : There is no monopoly of any party, that's what I am saying. There were revolutionaries like Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash, Dr. Lohia, Aruna Asaf Ali, Achyut Patwardhan in the National Movement and they worked with the congress party. This is a fact.

Today when no party has any monopoly in any State in the entire country, if there is any party very near in thinking to the Samajwadi Party, then it could be the congress party alone. There is no problem in it since it is the need of the hour. We do not indulge in double talk in the matter. We had said the same thing on 23rd March, 1991 into the presence of hon. Chandra Shekharji because we were called cowards and we were branded as the followers of a quarrelsome leader. We replied to it by saying that it was not like that but it is the need of the hour and that of the country.

As far as the Lok Sabha bye election are concerned, about which references have been made just now saying that the BJP has won all the bye elections and that the party is continuing its onward march, I would like to remind them that the party had emerged at No. 1 in 236 to 240 Assembly segments in Uttar Pradesh in the last Lok Sabha elections while our own party had emerged as No.1 in 76 Assembly segments. But in the Assembly elections we improved our position from 76 to 110 while the BJP came down from 240 to 174 now they should tell whether their party is improving its position or is declining all is evident now. Everything is before us. The BJP came out with big figures to demonstrate here that they have won in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and that they are continuously with their onward march but the public have given a prompt and fitting reply to their claims.

Though BJP say that they are a disciplined party but we have seen their discipline and character building from the extents that took place in Gujarat. We have not been able to understand their definition of the nation. See how the friends sitting in front row defines a nation whatever happened in Dilergunj, is that their policy? Glass bottle were broken into pieces and girls were paraded naked in Surat, is this their politics? ....*(Interruptions)* indulge in provocative and inacting tactics which is the reason of your present discomfiture ....*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI BHAVNABEN DEVRAJ BHAI CHIKHALIA (Junagarh) : You cannot say such things in the House. Nothing of the sort has happened is Surat ....*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please sit down. Mr. Mulayam Singh you please continue with your speech.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Indian was well known in the entire world for her stand on human rights. But after 6th December 1992 in Surat, Mumbai and Kanpur...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ASHOK PRADHAN (Khurja) : This is not an Assembly...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : You are not a Head Master to teach me what is an Assembly and what is Lok Sabha...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV (Purniya) : If alliance is withdrawn then you will fall flat...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Barnala Saheb, you please listen to me. As far as the problem concerning the people and sikh brethren of Punjab is concerned, no doubt that sikh brethren had launched a movement but you people have added fuel to fire and the movement was spoiled. You did not heed to the advice of Chandrashekhar, but we did pay heed to your advice. After that terrorism has increased to a large extent and as a result Indiraji, Longowal ji had to become martyrs, General Vaidya was killed but ultimately to whom 'Saropa' is being presented? Is this called nationalism? Is this the face of your rationalism? Do you understand what does it mean? The BJP has won on the power and strength of Akali Dal. If Akali Dal withdraws support, and if elections are held again then they will come to know their position. And they are talking about Nationalism here. If it is not so, then they must protest against presentation of 'saropa' to such people. If they would not protest then they will not be doing service to the nation as they cannot save the country in this manner. To whom saropa is being presented? They have two faces. So, they should not think like this. Our heart is pure. Our principle is clear and pure. Whatever we do, whether we love or hate, we do it sincerely. A human being can have only two qualities love and hate. If there is any third quality in anybody then he may be a God or a devil. So, Mr. Chairman, through this House, I would like to put their true face before the entire country. Terrorism was encouraged in Punjab which resulted in killings of leaders, literatures and journalists. Even after that to whom saropa is being presented now? Do they have the guts?

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howra) : Whatever Shri Mulayam Singh has said is true and correct. Therein, rising above party feeling.

[English]

Irrespective of party affiliations, the entire House should condemn this incident. The nation should condemn this. It is a very dangerous trend.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : As far as what they say is concerned...*(Interruptions)* they are very eager for elections as if they people will win. We are not afraid of the elections but keeping in view the economic condition of the country and keeping in views the problems such as electricity, water, food, clothes, shelters/houses, roads and education being faced by the people we do not want election at this juncture in the interest of the people and the country. But whenever the elections are held, then we do not get frightened of them...*(Interruptions)* We know on whose support they are talking about elections in Uttar Pradesh. Anything can happen in a moment or two. Since Government is running on support there, so they will be caught unawares when the whole situation will transform. If we people get unite then their Government will fall down...*(Interruptions)* In Uttar Pradesh, power is not in their hands. They are surviving on support of other party. We are not talking on someone's support. We will take cooperation of all the parties...*(Interruptions)*

Ten month's back they could not win the confidence motion so they people ran away from the midway. But we have won the confidence motion earlier and now again we will win it. I am the Defence Minister so, I am worried for maintaining good relations with our neighbouring countries Bangladesh and Pakistan. We want this. But these People could not understand this...*(Interruptions)* We did not say that we will leave this but we will not leave Kashi, Ayodhya and Mathura...*(Interruptions)* We are proud that Russia is our friend because whenever India was in trouble Russia proved to be a true friend. If our Prime Minister has good relations with Russia then there cannot be a better thing to be proud of. We are indeed very happy and this is a fact.

They say that I was also a candidate for the post of Prime Minister. Yes, indeed I also was a candidate but we can sacrifice everything to end the communal forces. I knew that if I will remain a candidate then differences may arise and the United Front will become weak. But country was important to me so I withdraw my name.

This is a very simple thing. The post of Prime Minister is not higher than that cause. One can sacrifice any post in order to protect and strengthen the country

[Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav]

from the non-secular forces and to maintain the unity of the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Jains. Prime Ministership is not an exceptional. We will continue our struggle even if we die in the process. We have never compromised on our principles when we were apart than other people used to laugh at us. We were worried and we thought that if we follow the principles then we can form a party. We have followed those principles and ideologies we have made our entry from Lucknow to Bombay in 3½ years. I am not a well builtman nor I am handsome. But I have my ideology and my own principle with me. The people of the country will follow socialist thinking. I am happy that our Prime Minister is a socialist. He had said that we will maintain the belief in secularism. So I am happy and proved that he is a socialist. That's why, while congratulating him I have said that people like me are with him. Our Prime Minister is a qualified, talented and faithful person....*(Interruptions)* We do not scare away from election. Whenever the time comes, we will show what we are. The BJP people used to go from village to village carrying bricks in their hands 1993 elections. We were not having any party nor any symbol. Even then we defeated them with any symbol which was somewhere cycle, somewhere it was camel and at others it was horse. So, please do not go on repealing election. All my friends/brothers are sitting here. I would like to appeal Sharad Pawar ji and all my friends Shri Vankataswami, Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev and Mamata Banerji that if we keep our unity and remain like this then the country will be strengthen and we will not let them to rule the country. I am telling the truth. I am making a promise to the country...*(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER : Shed non-congressism attitude...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I have already shed such an attitude. Now, there is nothing like non-congressism before me. I would like to repeat that congress is not untouchable for us. I have already told that non-congressism lasted till there was the congress monopoly now.

[Translation]

There is no non-congressism and Congress is not untouchable for us. We have taken support ...*(Interruptions)* Now there would be struggle against fanatic elements and communalism and United Front and Congress would strengthen the unity of the country. United Front means the unity of the country, secularism, casteless and classless society...*(Interruptions)*. Who is castiest? We have faced two elections. There may be only 17 Members of Parliament from our Party, we have 110 members in Legislative Assembly. Do read and write. Which can be the more casteist Party than B.J.P.? When Atalji became Prime Minister, there was not a single minister belonging to backward class in his cabinet. What can be more evidence than that. I don't want to pay more and I also don't want to take more time as our Prime Minister would speak, otherwise we can cite dozens of examples showing how far you are nationalist and moralists. We have been in jail also. We know how good is your character. We know it all.

15.27 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We would maintain the unity of this country, and who would strengthen the country. We would increase the production of farmers and we would work for the welfare of the poor, slum dwellers. We will work to strengthen the defence of the country and also work for removing the unequality among the people, we would get looting stopped, would introduce the policy of fixed prices, would check price rise and corruption and strengthen the United front. Strengthening the United Front means strengthening the country.

With these words, I support the confidence motion moved by the Prime Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : You please finish your speech in ten minutes.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : You have given fifty minutes to them. They have 17 members. You are giving ten minutes to me.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I do not mind sitting late today. It is for the House to decide. The list is very long and the list does not contain the names of Independent M.Ps. during the previous debate. I do not want to deny that right to them today. I will have to give a chance to the Independent M.Ps. also today. So, please be brief.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : I will try my best to be brief.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI SRIKANTA JENA): Sir, it was decided in the Business Advisory Committee meeting that the hon. Prime Minister would speak at five o' clock.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : It has come to your mind just now?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I want to say only this that if the Prime Minister would speak at five O' clock. Only Mulayam Singh ji has spoken from the Government side. I think that we can finish this debate by six o' clock by restricting it, one speaker from B.J.P. and one each from other major parties may speak...*(Interruptions)* I am making demand for it for restricting the time.

[English]

Sir, you can restrict the time of speeches. That is my only request.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Hon'ble Speaker, Sir, this is the probably fourth Confidence motion which is being discussed in this House within the last ten months which has been brought by the third Prime Minister. I think it is a unique record in the world.

If we see the incidents occurred in the last three weeks, our attention is drawn to it. We don't know why it happened, for what it happened, who did it, who lost what, who got what—it is beyond my understanding who has sent us here? The public think of it, it is the most important question before me.

We would withdraw the support of the Government at our will. We would bring the administration at a stand still at will. We would make Government inspite of not being in majority, it is our will. We would do whatever he want to do. The Government of this country is being run in this way. Due to it there has been instability in administration. What was the reason, what was the crisis? Change the leader, we would not change the leader. Resign, we would not resign. What is it, it is beyond my understanding. I have just now heard saying we don't fear the elections. No one fears the elections, but the reality is this that every Member of Parliament fears elections. Whatever they pretend, but the reality is that fear is behind all that is going on.

Deve Gowdaji lost the Confidence Motion. It was must. There was no way before him. But he was thinking that Sarad Pawar was silent at that time perhaps he would help. Some Members would help him by ignoring the whip. How to change side in last moment, it is well known to the leaders of today who become leader overnights. They would say something and the very next minute they would deny it. Ram Vilasji you know, I told the same day. The Prime Minister is not present here now. I wanted to tell him, I was saying the same thing at that time also, that Deve Gowdaji would say with confidence that National Front is with him, as Mulayam Singh ji had said. There was self confidence and self respect and he was speaker with full confidence that he has told the whole of the world. But at last Congress taught him such a lesson which was not expected. They were thinking that National Front would abide by him till last. They felt that they can teach lesson to Kesriji, if Nationl Front backs him. Why this feeling came to their heart, there is reason for it also. I have got the cuttings of newspapers. I have seen them, it was reported in these cuttings that C.M. Abrahim had told him that Congress would get divided and about 90 Members of Parliament would come to our side, therefore, there is no need of leaving and he can take whatever stand he wants to take we would face their challenge. There were friends who sit by his side and the trusted them they heard him, but in the end what Deve Gowda ji had to do, is well known to the public of the country. There is no need for discussion over it.

Today Sarad Pawar delivered speech here. I am very happy over it. The reason for it was that on that day also I was expecting that he would speak. After all Congress is a National Party and is there for years. It has 142 Members in this House. I was waiting that they would speak and tell us as to why they withdrew the support. It was to be told by Shri Pawarji, because he is the leader of Congress Party here. But he did not speak on that day. Today also he did not tell us the real cause of withdrawing support. He said only this, which has been repeated earlier, that on December 6, 1992, Babri Masjid was demolished, communalism increased, therefore, we all have united to fight against communalism. On that day i.e. on June 11 last year, they said that we are secular. It means that we are communalist, therefore, these people are here to fight against us. Because we believe in religion, therefore we are communalist and they don't believe in religion, therefore, they are secular. Therefore, we the believers in religion were watching the fight of these non-religious people and we were enjoying it. We did not know as to who would succeed Deve Gowda ji. We say hon. Mulayam ji was speaking.

I remember that you were also in the race for Prime Ministership. I had said earlier and today again I say that Ram Vilas Paswanji was also in the race. Poor Moopnarji who even did not come to Delhi during that period, was also dragged in this race. When he was called here, I saw that how he was welcomed with garlands and flowers. It appeared that he would be the next leader of the United Front. But there is Somebody who holds the keys here and he is sitting beside you. You say that we used to come to you time and again. But who were doing politics behind the curtain, who have the remote-control, who do not want to shoulder any responsibility, do not want to face the fight themselves, they say from the back, do this, play like this.

These people advise you sitting in their room as to who would be your leader. If they desire, Ram Vilasji also could become Prime Minister. The CPI(M) I have a say they could get done anything. The C.P.I. is in the Government and they are still in the Government. I have no complaint against them, but the CPI(M) have the key in their hands and they have conglomerated all and called it the United Front.

Deve Gowdaji was Chief Minister there. He was brought here leaving good place and he is in trouble. Had he no work there? What are you doing this? He is a secular leader. He was the greatest secular leader but he has become communal after coming here. This is all due to grace of congressman. Deve Gowdaji has come here from over these and has become communal. I have doubt in my mind, if new Prime Ministerji will visit Vajpayeeji or call on Bala Sahab Thakareji, he might be lebelled with the brand of communalism. But when the Janta Dal Government come into power in our country and V.P. Singhji himself went to the Jama Masjid and

[Shri Madhukar Sarpotdar]

called on Sahi Imam...*(Interruptions)* Then he was not communal. But Deve Gowdaji who went to Mumbai and called on Bal Thakereyji, he became communal, what principle they are talking about? I want to know why do you want to spread fighting. I listened to the lecture of all of us. Each person only talks of 6 December and the Babri Masjid. There are no other talks we are secular and all others are communal. Fight is going on between these two. If this is the feeling, I want to ask you that is Moopanar not secular? Is Paswan not secular? If you also are not secular, how you are lagging behind in the race. I have been given to understand start Mulayam Singhji is becoming Prime Minister. It hardly matters for us, if all of you decide together that he is your leader. The name of Inderjit Gupta did not figure in the race for Prime Ministership. I want to thank him because he was not in the race. What happens for remaining in the race? He has had the experience of Deve Gowdaji. Everybody had doubt in mind that we will be push forward today and will be pulled from there tomorrow and there will be search of another leader. The day when Deve Gowdaji was speaking in this House, there people were having meeting to decide the next Prime Minister for pleasing Sita Ram Kesri.

The people who come to this Lok Sabha are elected among the public. If any body has to become Prime Minister from the people among here. Let anybody become a Prime Minister. Chander Shekharji is sitting, let him become what is wrong in him? No body will brand him as communal...*(Interruptions)*. Our Vajpayeeji is communal...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Do not do like this.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the thing which has happened, I am trying to reach at the same. If it has happened, why has happened? Therefore I want to know that what was the mistake of Deve Gowdaji in reality? Inderjit Guptaji knows it. He knows it very well. But he will not speak. Which case of whom has been taken up who is going to be jailed in the case. He knows all our Baba Sahab had said in two-three meetings and it was very nice to listen to him. He gave a suggestion that there are many zoological parks in our country. Lions, Elephants and other wild animals are caged there, all should be set free and the persons who are involved in corruption or have been arrested for corruption in our country, if they are to be put behind the bars, they should be kept there in place of the jails. Let the public see that how are the leaders of our country. This was his suggestion. That will be very good because a man will learn a good lesson from it. What is the fault of an animal? Why an elephant is kept behind the bars? If it lives in a jungle, it will live at its will there. But it is kept closed in a park and the people who have destroyed the country, the some people decide who has to become a Prime Minister, whom to support, whom to remove, this type of thinking only those people do. Ram Vilasji, just have a serious look. Your is a sixteen parties government. There is not one or two...*(Interruptions)* I feel pity for congress. I don't know what has happened to congress. If you want to have a fight with secularism, fight it alone, it you done to do so. But it seems they do not have courage. Mamata Banerjee is sitting here and other experienced people are sitting, they have experience of life ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (Adoor) : They are fighting against you.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : You can fight. We are always ready to fight against you or anybody. That is not the point. The point is, you are having friendship with the very same persons who have assaulted him and Kumari Mamata Banerji. On top of that, you are saying : "we are all one and we all are secular forces." But at the same time, you are trying to kill each other. Is this the ideology that you are having? That is my question.

[Translation]

Therefore, I want to say that had they fought in the field, I could have understood. They are not ready to participate in the Government. It is written in the newspaper, I have read it that Prime Ministership has been decided but the person having remote control in his hand, had flown to Russia, one more person had accompanied him, who had not much contacts with Mulayam Singhji. Talks were going on to make him the Prime Minister. It is a big thing. But what happened, I don't know, you know very well.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : You can tell.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : I don't know. you know. It is published in the newspaper. If you want to go through it I can give you the same. The question is communists were told comrade be clear. Speak freely, whatever you want to speak. Somnath Chatterjee spoke in this House. I have his statement, his lectures. Whenever he speaks here, the first thing he raised is 6th December's incident Babri Masjid. He doesn't have any new subject. I want to tell the people of Congress. When there was rule of the Janata Party in the country, Morarji Desai become Prime Minister. You would remember, that time, there was only one programme, Smt. Indira Gandhi. What type of cases are to be filed against her. How to try to malign her. How to oust her from politics. This was the only issue at that time and the same issue is going on today also. You do not have any other thing. The Prime Minister has to seek a vote of confidence and you have to get vote of confidence. He fully knows it, but whether he will get your vote or not, he is not sure about it. Therefore this motion is moved. You should have spoken what is your programme, what do you want to do, why do you seek support, why do you want to vote for him and how our Inder Kumar Gujral is better. You should have told about this. But you have left all these things and have dragged the politics of U.P. here. You do whatever you want to do in Uttar Pradesh. I do not talk about Maharashtra. Your 21 people have been elected. They met me I welcomed them. If any party carries out works in Mumbai and defects congress and their people get elected for corporation. This means we have committed some mistake. Therefore, they have got a chance. Had we have committed mistake, they would not have got the chance. 21 members have been elected in corporation, it is a very good thing. I want to give you an advice whether you follow it or not, I leave it to you. Which policies are being implement in the *localities* where these people have been elected from, you think over it. I am speaking today, I know the public is watching what I am speaking. People of Mumbai are also listening to us today. Therefore, I want to tell you that yours, ours and each party which comes here has to do work the duty to work for the people of our country. What can we do for them, this is a big thing. Which flag you have is not so important, what is your programme, what you want to do, whom you want to please, whom to displease. You want to win favours of Muslims but they will not favour you. I myself have experience. They say that they have had long experience of congress. We will not go after them. Therefore what congress people will do now...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude. You are entitled to nine minutes and I have given you 20 minutes.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Sir, already some people have taken 50 minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : The Ruling Party is having one hour and eleven minutes. They have exhausted 45 minutes. We are going according to the strength. So, you cannot compare with the Ruling Party speakers because out of one hour and eleven minutes, they have taken only 45 minutes.

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Sir, please give me some more time. I have got so many points.

MR. SPEAKER : All right. I give you five minutes more.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : If they had not mentioned this point. I would not have replied. They did not put forth points in regard to this matter instead they raised other points. If they attack us on the basis of communalism, it becomes necesary for me to reply it. Today, the public is listening otherwise the public may think that they speak and we keep run.

Therefore, they should not have the feeling in their minds that we do not want to reply. The hon. Members of Parliament and the Chief Ministers of three, four States sit together and decide as to who would be Prime Minister of the country. Shri Chandra Babu Naidu the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Karunakaranji and Shri Jyoti Basu — the Chief Minister of West Bengal decide the Prime Minister of the country.

Sir, when the Congress Party used to claim the majority, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the President decided the Prime Minister on the decision used to be taken as per the consensus you have 180 member with you.

[English]

There are 182 Members. Why have you not taken consensus of these 182 Members if you are united? You represent the United Front. So, you should have called all these 182 Members, taken their consensus and found out who is to be selected as Prime Minister. You people have not done that.

[Translation]

Therefore, so many people have come in competition Tamil Manila Congress at present has sitting after in other row after getting annoyed. Today, everybody suggests or requests the Finance Minister to join the United Front Government at any cost. Why this situation has emerged? Everybody is apprehensive that the same situation may come after ten months. Even earlier, I had stated that if this situation has to be avoided, you have to be cautions against congressman. If an idea crops up in their minds that Shri Gujral has done something against their will, they would get annoyed and the all this smile of Shri Ram Vilas Paswan will have no effect on them. The Chief Minister Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav decides the Prime Minister he says,

[English]

I am the king maker. I will decide who should be the Prime Minister.

[Translation]

It is called democracy. But if Shri Bala Saheb Thackrey says something, allegations are levelled against us that Maharashtra Government is run through a remote control. Those criticising us are not aware as to what is happening in their own houses. Therefore, I would like to tell you. The behaviour of Indian industrialists is most surprising. Shri I.K. Gujaral become Prime Minister only yesterday. The capitalists of the country were first to greet him. No doubt, it is a matter of pleasure but no one from the working class or farmer greeted him. Sensex is watched everyday. The stock

[Shri Madhukar Sarpotdar]

market index in Mumbai constantly fluctuates. Like blood pressure, the economy of the country also fluctuates. If the stock market index is satisfactory, the economic health of the country is also satisfactory, but if the index dip down, I do not know whether the blood pressure of the Finance Minister goes up or low. Such an economic policy was never before in practice in over country. I do not know as to how it has become so? Every one has a relation with the country. He may be a poor farmer, workers of capitalists. Who will look after their interests? Three or four points have been presented .in this regard. I would like to thank Shri Gujaral Saheb. The problems put before him by them were genuine problems. I believe that if they are provided an opportunity to work, they will certainly work. The question is whether you would provide them on opportunity to work? If all the fourteen parties drag him in different directions, what can he do? He is 78 year old. He has lost his resistence capacity. If you pressurise him, what will be his condition? I am very much concerned about it. The hon. Speaker has gave me less time for speaking on today's motion. I thought, I would be given 30-40 minute.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I wish, I could.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : I had prepared all the points. You have reminded me about time, therefore it becomes my duty to respect you. I oppose this motion but I would certainly like to say on thing that if Shri Gujaral does good work, we would be glad in your company. If this Government lasts for five years, I would thank congressman first of all. Credit for this will go to them and not to any one of you. Therefore, it depend on the will of the Congress whether to allow him to continue him or not and it is your duty to please them. You will have to decide as to how they are to be pleased, on what point and on what kind of sacrifice. Common all these points to cabinet ministry.

The problems of hon. Members of Parliament have also to be taken into mind because they will vote for you. No other person will vote for non. I would like to thank you all for selecting and providing a Prime Minister but I oppose the way in which the present Prime Minister has been selected. With these words I oppose the motion and conclude my speech.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You kept your time limit and I thank you for that. Prof. G.G. swell, you have got seven minutes. will it be enough?

SHRI G.G. SWELL (Shillong) : It will be more than enough. I am not the type of a person who creates problems.

I would like to say that in all the recent confusion, the recent chaos, the recent nightmare, the best thing that has happened to this country and to this House is Shri Inder Kumar Gujral. He has been my friend for the last many decades. We have been working together especially in the field of foreign affairs. We have travelled together and we have stood together on many occasions. But even I was impressed by the manner in which he introduced his speach this morning. The sweep of his mind, his personal roots in the struggle for freedom, the roots of his family in the struggle for freedom, his sense of priorities, his sobriety, these are the things that catches the imagination. These are the kind of things that will provide the leadership to the country in the present chaos.

Sir. our parliamentary democracy has entered a new phase, an irreversible phase.

All the big decisions were being taken here in Delhi by the great leaders earlier. But now the decisions are no longer taken by the leaders here in Delhi, but are taken by the leaders in the States. This is the true participation of the whole nation. This is true federalism. In order to lead the nation at this time, we need a person of a gentlemanliness, the understanding and the sweep of vision like that of Shri Inder Kumar Gujral. He has all the qualities of successful leader and I wish him well. I pledge my full support to him and I wish that this House will also give him and this country a chance.

Today India stands before the world of history. We have faced many things in the course of the great history of this country running over thousands of years. This is another phase now. The world is watching what India is doing. We know what is happening in the world. But nothing of the sort is happening in India today. I think at this time, I also owe a word of appreciation to the Congress. Even though the Congress which has won this nation independence and which has given this nation a Constitution, has fallen on evil days and has fallen away from the great ideals that have shaped this nation. but still in this hour of crisis that greatness of Congress is not totally exhausted. That is why, the Congress has come and given the United Front a chance to rule. All my respect is due to the Congress for this. We stand together. I hope with the kind of mechanism which they are evolving in which there will be a committee of five members from the United Front and five members from the Congress presided over by the Prime Minister, all the obstacles and misunderstandings that are there will be removed and that we shall be able to function as a nation which will make great strides. The world will see what India is doing.

Thank you. I do not want to take more time.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH (Mahendergarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the time is limited, perforce I have to cut down my time in the debate.

When this crisis was created by the quite unexpected action of the Congress President and consequently this Government was defeated in the House, I have done some considerable and extensive tour of the backward and rural areas of Haryana. I would like to say that during that 12 hour debate that was going on, the farmers and the poor people in the villages were glued to the TV sets. I think the debate that day was of a high order. The debate today is taken to a high level by Shrimati Sushma Swaraj. But I am sorry to say that the credibility of the leaders of the conglomerate of these 14 or 15 or 16 parties is lost in the public eye.

16.04 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

During that debate when Shri Deve Gowda was elected as the Prime Minister, as my senior colleague Shrimati Sushma Swaraj has pointed out, every member from the United Front solembly pledged undying loyalty to Shri Deve Gowda.

And, it took only one jerk from the Congress Party for all those promises to disappear into thin air and or this United Front to ditch their leader Shri Deve Gowda and throw him in the pond of oblivion. It is a shameful matter, I think, that we behave in such a manner and still manage to come back with all this pomp and show that has been seen in these last fifteen days.

Shri Mulayam Singh says that the Congress was holding a monopoly and the other parties had ganged up against the Congress. Now, all the parties have ganged up against the BJP. Why? Because, the BJP is going to hold the monopoly. It is a simple law of nature that the BJP is going to hold the monopoly. That is why, all the other parties make some excuse about secularism, pseudo-secularism and fundamentalism. But how many of them are truly secular? This, I do not think, anybody has ever put to the touch. But this often cry of wolf against the BJP is not going to see them through very much longer. A day is going to come when the public will call cry of wolf and they will probably be devoured by the wolf, that is, the Indian public.

Now, let us see what have been the achievements of this drama from 30th March to 20th April. The country has gone down the drain in these last 20 days. The whole illogical and irrational exercise which the Congress leader Shri Sharad Pawar has termed as bolt from the blue, tried to give an explanation as to why the Congress withdraw support. I submit that this was the speech which he had prepared for the 11th and on the 11th the Great Maratha got cold feet and could not speal that day. Not only he but all the senior Congress leader could not speak that day. Shri Narasimha Rao, Shri Sharad Pawar and Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev, the first line of leadership, all got cold feet and could not defend the letter that they had sent withdrawing support. So, they had to field their second strength of leaders.

After that, there was some tea party, I believe, and Shri Sharad Pawar got a dressing down from Kesriji. Therefore, he pulled out his own speech of the 11th and read out today...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : He is very much a Member of this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No disturbance, please. Please take your seats.

COL. RAO RAM SHINGH : Sir, I had a very long association with the Congress Party...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seats and allow him to speak.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : I had a very long association with the Congress Party, more than anybody else. The Congress Party is suffering from a delusion that they are running this Government. How mistaken they are!

This Government is being run by the 'Modern Chanakya', Shri H.S. Surjeet. This Government is being run by him and our Parliamentarian of the Year, Shri Somnath Chatterjee. It is with their support that this Government is being run. I am surprised at the language used by Shri Somnath Chatterjee while speaking about the Congress. They are so demoralised that they are unable to defend themselves. I would not go so far as to say that they have lost their self-respect. It is amazing. When Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao used to sit there, Shri Chandra Shekhar used to call him 'mouni baba', Now, all the top Congress leaders have become 'mouni babas'. It is a very infectious disease. They are unable to defend themselves.

All right, Congress bashing is one aspect. Now, the CPI (M) is engaged in their next favourite sport. Thank god, Shri P. Chidambaram has come here now. Congress bashing was the first sport. Now, they have switched over to their second main item of sport, i.e., TMC bashing. They are now indulging in TMC bashing. The CPI (M) says that Shri G.K. Moopanar is a 'Congress agent'. Further, they say that not only is he a 'Congress agent', but he is an 'agent of 10 Janpath', whatever that may mean. This new Government has been formed. I think, the TMC, which was giving the maximum support has been sidelined entirely. The people of Tamil Nadu are a very sensitive and brave people. One reads in the newspapers about immolations taking place; people are dousing themselves with kerosene or petrol and setting themselves afire. Why? It is because the pride of Tamil Nadu has been touched. They are smarting under this body blow that has been delivered by the CPI (M) to Shri Moopanar and Shri Chidambaram.

Today, of course, belatedly Shri Somnath Chatterjee tried to make amends. He said, Come on, Shri

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Chidambaram, we invite you. I am the obstacle; you move across and go there. This is perhaps because they have realised that one back seat driver is enough. Up till now, Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet and Shri Somnath Chatterjee have been doing the back seat driving. But if the TMC joins them in the back seat driving and the Congress holds the brakes, the vehicle is going to run around in a very, very short time. Shri H.D. Deve Gowda lasted for ten months. The honourable present Prime Minister is very highly intellectual person. He is a man of the highest integrity and ability. But with the forces surrounding him, if Shri Deve Gowda lasted for ten months, I give two months' maximum time to this Government. That is why, today, velatedly Shri Somnath Chatterjee realised that TMC bashing will not get him very far and that is why he tried to make some amends today.

With all the efforts made by Shri Sharad Pawar today to explain why the support was withdrawn, I do not think that the House feels any enlightenment on the subject.

We still do not know what was behind the scene. Of course, there were hard whispers from the senior Congress leaders and from my friends in the Central Hall about a case pertaining to 1993. Then, there were some reports in the media saying that senior leaders, on the strict condition of anonymity, were ready to say something. The Congress leaders have become so demoralised that they want to leak out the things but do not want to put their names in jeopardy. There was some mention by Shri Deve Gowda about a letter written by Shri Rajesh pilot But he would not speciify what the letter was. That has gone now.

The Prime Minister is here. Today, the Prime Minister has made a mention that there would be no witch-hunting. Guilty conscious pricks the mind. Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev immediately got up and made some remarks to the effect that they had no secret agreement that all the cases would be dropped. But it is imperative for the Prime Minister to assure the nation that there would be no Governmental interference in the cases where investigation agenies are investigating. I think it is incumbent upon the Prime Minister to give this specific assurance to the House. Otherwise, the credibility will fall even lover. People already say that there is a clandestine agreement. Is that why Shri Sita Ram Kesri is looking so jubilant in lending his support? It must be clarified in no uncertain terms as to whether there is any clandestine agreement.

Sir, in the letter sent to the President stating the withdrawal of support, one of the reasons mentioned was that the national security had been greatly endangered under the Deve Gowda Government. On the contrary, I feel, that national security was greatly endangered by the untimely and unthoughtful action of the Congress President in withdrawing support at that critical hour. When the NAM Conference was going on, the credibility of India was reduced to zero after that a letter was submitted to the President.

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY (Peddapalli) : Are you supporting Shri Deve Gowda?

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : I am not supporting Shri Deve Gowda. I am talking about the illogical and irresponsible action taken by the Congress President without the knowledge of any Member...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : On what basis are you saying that it was an illegal action...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon, Members, please take your seat. Shri Kodikunnil Suresh, please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order please.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please, do not interrupt.

(Interruptions)

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : Not only the NAM Conference but also the Secretary level talks between India and Pakistan were going on. Shri Deve Gowda and Shri Nawaz Sharif, after a gap of, I think, fifteen to twenty years, agreed for the Secretary level dialogues for normalisation of relations between the two countries. The Foreign Secretary level talks were going on at that juncture. With the withdrawal of support to the Government, the talks had no sanctity whatsoever. I would like to ask the gentlemen from the Congress whether that was the right time to withdraw the support.

Then, they should justify it. Sir, the Congress Party has a culture where the leader...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : You are born and brought up by Congress...*(Interruptions)*

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : That is why I understand the mindset of the Congress leaders better than anybody else...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Why do you not enjoy the speech, please?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please address the Chair.

(Interruptions)

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : Another point in that letter which he mentioned was that Shri Deve Gowda has failed to check the communal forces and the internal security scenario.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I agree with that.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : Sir, now I must go back to one more thing.

What are the realities on the ground about the national security scenario? What has happened after that? The Pakistani forces, taking advantage of the instability in India, have opened fire on the front forward force in Kargil with 130 mm guns. Ladakh is a majority Buddhist area. But Kargil has got 90 per cent of Muslim population. The Pakistani forces have started shelling Kargil in a very major operation with the result the Muslims of Kargil are being evacuated. The Kashmiri Pandits have been evacuated already. Now, it is the turn of the Muslims to be evacuated from Ladakh. This is the national security scenario that the Congress Party hopes to improve! Things are worsening, Sir.

As I said, the second point was about the internal security. What is happening in Bihar? We have been reading in the newspapers over the last ten days about the massacres that have been taking place in Bihar. Is that an improvement in the internal security scenario? Is the Congress Party very happy about it? These things were happening in Shri Deve Gowda's time also. But what is happening now is tenfold more.

Now we see the same old faces here—Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Shri Sharad Yadav, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, who are all champions of the *kisans* and the backward classes. Who have been dropped? 'The poor humble farmer' has gone; Shri Devendra Pradsd Yadav, the only other representative of the farming community, has gone. Everybody else is there in the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister also said today that he would do anything for the farmers. How have you agreed to drop the only two farmers that you had in that Cabinet? I think, it is incumbent on the Prime Minister to give some explanation as to how these two farmers have been dropped. What crime did they commit? What crime did Shri Devendra Prasad Yadav commit? When you are going to take everybody else, why did you single out one poor farmer's son from Bihar?...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to say that Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav is a champion of the minorities. Please you may induct him as your Deputy Prime Minister and I think, you would be doing a great thing for the minority community.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : You are doing the Ministry-making for them!

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : It is because there is a great disappointment amongst the minorities that Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav has not been made the Deputy Prime Minister. In fact, he should have been made the Prime Minister; but that is a different story...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Silence please.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : Another disturbing trend that is creeping into the Indian parliamentary democracy is this. I am sorry to say that a convention has been started when the Prime Minister must be from the Rajya Sabha. Some media persons were asking me as to whether there is a talk about a constitutional amendment that the Prime Minister should be from the Rajya Sabha in future. Even though Shri Narasimha Rao was an old man when he became the Prime Minister, he did have the guts to go and fight an election from Nandyal to come to Lok Sabha. He had the courage to face the electorate. Now, this convention has started that not only the Prime Minister but a majority of the Ministers also should come from the Rajya Sabha. It is of great advantage. They do not have to go and beg for votes, They do not have to go to their electorate. One great disadvantage of a Member of Lok Sabha becoming Prime Minister or Minister is that he will misuse all the funds in his constituency. But here, there is no constituency. So, a balanced development will take place in the whole State from where that Rajya Sabha Member comes. Therefore, it is a very good idea that has been started.

Sir, there is one more thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister. We often hear of the Gujral Doctrine. I must confess that as Minister for External Affairs, Shri Inder Kumar Gujral did exceedingly well. But what is this Gujral Doctrine? Has it been spelt out in so many words somewhere? We hear that under the Gujral Doctrine, unilateral concessions will be given to the neighbouring countries. Now, in which book of diplomacy is it written that you will be so large-hearted that you will give concessions unilaterally to the neighbouring countries? Is the sharing of Ganga waters a part of the Gujral Doctrine?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : They are all reciprocal.

COL. ROA RAM SINGH : They should be reciprocal. I believe that there is an agreement of visas. Is that also on an unilateral basis? What will happen next? Will we withdraw from the Siachen Glacier on a unilateral basis and hand it over to Pakistan? We want a specific statement from the hon. Prime Minister that there will be some limit to these unilateral concessions. Of course, I say one thing. Nepal and Bhutan are on a different basis altogether. They are on a different basis. But apart from that, India is in no position and I hope that the Prime Minister will inform the people of this country that the national interest will not be sacrificed on the altar of the Gujral Doctrine.

In conclusion, I would like to say that there appears to be a delusion that the choice of the leader of the United Front and consequently the Prime Minister has been by consensus. From what we see, it is quite obvious that it was a choice of convenience. There was no consensus. It is obviously a choice of convenience and I think the United Front would do well keeping this in view. I will leave one more thought. The other day, after the decision was taken, Shri Chandrababu Naidu made a statement on Television saying that now an era has come when there will be no power in Delhi.

All power will rest with the States. I am all for autonomy of the States. But if it is going to mean a

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weak and ineffective Centre, then it is a very serious state of affairs. I think, some clarification is required on this also.

In the old days, there used to be a gramophone and at a time when the needle used to get stuck, the same line was being sung. I think, the needle of the Congress and the CPM has got stuck. Only one line is being sung, that is, pseudo-secularism, fundamentalism, communalism and things like that.

I leave a thought with my respected Members of this House. Let there be an election. Let there be a direct election of the Prime Minister and with honest, think who will you bet upon...*(Interruptions)*

Shri Somnath Chatterjee was saying that the people sitting in front in saffron robes have only 25 per cent of the franchise with them. I say, all right. If you take this, have a direct election of the Prime Minister and see whether we have 25 per cent or we have 75 per cent. Put it to test if you have got the guts...*(Interruptions)*

I oppose the motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY (Pedapalli) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I could not get time earlier also even after waiting for a long time and now I have been provided an opportunity when I am in no mood to speak. I did not want to speak about Deve Gowda ji today but Col. Ram Singh from BJP was out to support Deve Gowda Govt. I had never thought that Deve Gowda has the supporter even in the party of Vajpayee and he wants to know as to why I was mum? I was mum because both of us reside in the same house and will reside in the future also. If the door is broken, we cannot live in the House because there is fear of theft by the persons like you. Therefore, I did not utter a single word though this was much to told. There are many reasons for withdrawal of support from Deve Gowda Government which I wanted to tell to Col. Ram Singh but he is gone...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBER : He is coming from that side.

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : He must come one day. Sir, it seems -

> "This heart has broken into thousands of piece; these piece of heart are lying here and there;"

The situation is that many persons have become something after deserting us. Many Tom, Sick and Hurry have become important people and the important people have lost this importance...*(Interruptions)* Madam, I have not uttered any word. Why do you want me to expose the realty.

Today Congress is a big party and just now Shri Mulayam Singh has stated that we had passed a resolution at that time because we had monopoly. Today Mulayam Singh Ji wants to befrined us. We welcome this gesture and have decided to work together. But why are they feeling jealous. Is it that why are we coming together? We do not want to make an issue. We want to have friendship and he wants to be friend because there is democracy in this country. Shri Gujaral ji has stated in the morning...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : No commentary please.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : It is not language. Mr. Chairman, Sir, please expunge what he has said. Senior member should train them.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Sir, it should not go on record...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not make any commentary like this.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : It is very bad if something has happened like this. They do not know how to behave and talk in the House. Therefore ...*(Interruptions)* If he wants to lesson something about me, ask Vajpayeeji, Indrajit Guptaji, Vajpayeeji, Chandrashekharji and Venkatswamy are session members of the House. First you learn how to talk. We are senior members still we sit mum in the House. It is very bad. The members of Parliament should not behave in this manner rather they should behave to enhance the image of Parliament. Therefore, he should not laugh at members of Parliament before those who are responsible for the respect and image of Parliament.

I just wanted to tell what Col. Ram Singh has not told, I did not want to explain the reason as to why we withdraw support. I shall tell this thing in nut shell today. When the situation went out of control and uneasy claim prevailed on such a large number of members of congress, the party, was compelled to withdraw the support. They compelled 112 year old congress party to withdraw support. I would like to cite one or two instance to show as to how they scaled down the works done by congress within a period of ten months. Everybody started questioning whether he is the Prime Minister of India or Prime Minister of Karnataka? This has been reiterated by the newspapers also. He visited Karnataka twenty times within a period of ten months, and allocated 30 per cent of the total Rail Budget to Karnataka besides providing an extra amount of Rs. 1200 crore. He provided for his village not only the facility of railways but constructed an airport also. Now, tell me, how long can these things be kept under the carpet?

I want to put forth these small points. The foodgrain production of the country...*(Interruptions)* Gujralji, it is worth thinking as to which direction the country has moved during these ten years. The price of wheat has gone up from Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 per kilograms. Prices have risen, the public want to see as to what the Congress is doing. You go to any street of Delhi and listen to what the people say about price-rise, electricity and many other things. I don't want to go into the details, but I want to tell you clearly. That when prices were rising, the congress was not sitting silent. It could not do anything except withdrawal of support. Therefore, the main reason...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI A.C. JOS : There are only announcement for our State...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please stop commentary.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : Please let me speak. I did not interrupt when Col. Ram Singh was speaking. Please allow me to speak. If you disturb me, I would sit down. This is what I have learnt.

I had said that I wanted to put forth some issues before you. In which direction the country is going? The growth rate was 7.2 percent when the Congress was in power. It has come down to 6.8 per cent in the last ten months. The industrial growth rate which was 12.2 percent during the period of Congress, has came down to 9.5 per cent in these ten months. Not only this, export was 21 per cent when Congress was in power, but it has come down to 5.5 per cent now...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BRAHAMANAND MANDAL (Munger) : Did you cite the reason in writing to the President when you withdraw the support?

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : Inflation rate when was 5 percent earlier, had gone upto 7.5 per cent when we withdraw the support. Not only the index of share Market which was 4000 points at the time of Congress Government, had come down to 2000 points.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Are you blaming Shri Chidambaram for Shri Manmohan Singh?

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : I would not have spoken, had Colonel Ram Singh not compelled me to speak. It is the duty of a political party to inform the public. Now, I want to speak about humiliation. Friendship mean to act unitedly and with co-operation. Sushmaji was saying that we were defeated in Punjab, and in Madhya Pradesh, but we were defeated by these very person. The people of Deve Gowda contested against us and these people won. Is it not humiliation? In spite of support from the Congress, we faced, humiliation. Therefore, they compelled us to withdraw support. There can be talk of alliance. Shri Gujaral also has the Congress blood in him. He should not speak the same act. Deve Gowdaji had also been in the Congress. Therefore, all these thing should be taken care of. The boat is sailing, these people are watching when it will lose balance and sink. Therefore, you should not allow it to lose balance be and let, the people laugh at it. If the country is to be strengthened, we should learn to more unitedly. It should be decided to avoid election in the next four year. It is in the interest of all of us. If we had not united the day before yesterday the country would have incurred the election expenditure of five thousand crores of rupees.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) : If it five thousand crore rupees or five hundred crores rupees?

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : You can make an estimate not less than one crore rupees would be incurred on each constituency. If anyone says that it would less than that, he is a great man. I am saying it often including all expenses.

Today no party is prepared for election, only leaders are prepared. I myself have talked to the Members. There are members of B.J.P. in my committee. They have also said that elections should not be held so soon, no matter whosoever forms the Government. Does democracy demand that election should be held again within ten months? You have chosen Shri Gujaral as leader. He is our old friend. If it is done, the same situation will prevail. It is clear. If you tried to ignore the Congress you would have to go for 12 lakhs votes...*(Interruptions)* It would not happen. It is clear. Today, whatever decision has been taken, and Shri Gujaral has been chosen to become the Prime Minister, he would win confidence Note also. I want to say that Shri Gujaral Saheb has a long experience and he is considered a wise man. I belong to trade union movement. I have fought for fifty years being in the trade union.

What is happening in Public Sector today. I am the Chairman of a Public Sector Undertaking. There are 266 industries in Public Sector. The Members from all parties, including the CPM and the BJP had told Deve Gowdaji that 70 industries already been refered to B.I.F.R. and 110 industries which had been running in losses could also be refered to B.I.F.R. we cannot be silent spectators to the destriction of the Public Sector industries which are the backbone of the country. Had he confirmed for some more time, all the 266 industries would have been closed down within next ten months. Therefore, we had to take this step. I would tell you

[Shri G. Venkat Swamy]

more. When I was the Minister of Textiles...*(Interruptions)* This House knows about the N.T.C. all the members also know about it. When I was the Cabinet Minister, I had made an announcement in the House. 122 Textile industries were then rated second in the world in terms of productivity and today also they are second in the world and all the textile workers have been crying for their wages and they are not receiving it. I have found a way out for them.

SHRIMATI BHAVANA BEN DEVRAJ BHAI CHIKHALIA (Junagarh) : What did you do in the last forty years?

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : I am coming to that point. When I become the Cabinet Minister, all these members were there. You were also there. I had entrusted the work of research to the Textile Research Association.

The machinery could not work for 125 years. It could not manufacture textile in world competition. It could not undertake spinning work. All those CITRA, BITRA, TERA, NITRA were entrusted to Textile Research Association. The Association submitted a report regarding modernisation scheme involving Rs. 2005 crore. Dr. Manmohan Singh refused to provide the amount. Hon'ble Members know that even after pursing it for six months, Manmohan Singhji had not agreed. Then, I said that I would bring the amount and in this process we prepared a scheme after selling their surplus land and properties. All the members agreed to it in the meeting with the Minister of Labour and after that, we said that Cabinet had sanctioned it. We requested Deve Gowdaji, that it was the decision of the Cabinet and it relates to one Lakh Seventy thousand working class. All the Textile industries are located in Mumbai, Kanpur, Gujarat, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Indore. All these industries are on the wage of destruction since then from being distroyed. He had said that the matter should be raised with the Minister of Textiles and the Secretary concerned. When we talked to the Secretary, he did not know what to do. He had not even read the cabinet dicision. I had told him that this issue was related to the workers and he should do something. Even after that, three months have passed and he has not understood it till date. It is the matter of implementation only. Colonel Ram Singh turned out be a great supporter of Deve Gowda. I am telling you all this because we had to withdraw the support due to these issues...*(Interruptions)*. It was wrong ...*(Interruptions)* There should be a considerate persons who could understand the issues and solve the problem and come forward for making the future of India. I want to tell you as to why we withdrew the support.

Sir, it was said that why did not we participate in the Government. My name was in the list of speakers and I sit late till 7'O clock, but my name was not called. What could I do? Santosh Mohanji is here to testify it. When I had left, name of Shri Shivraj Patil was called. When I went to take tea, 'Aaj Tak' team called me. Besides it, Sharad Pawarji, told me that tomorrow we have to go with them, so we should fight with them today.

Shri Sitaram Kesri was subjected to personal attacks whereas the out going Prime Minister should not have spoken in that manner...*(Interruptions)* There was no need to speak about Shri Sitaram Kesri. The AICC President Sitaram Kesri himself had said that he had not received the letter and had he received a letter, the acknowledgement should have been in the office. He was abused copenly but nothing is gained from that. That is why we kept silence. We have been many outgoing Prime Ministers. Now Doordarshan telecast has been introduced and the people of India are watching all activities. Many Prime Ministers have gone, it was not telecast then, except Shri Narasimha Rao. Earlier whatever was said was not taken seriously. We tolerated everything. The outgoing man would abuse only. He would not say that Sitaram Kesri was a good man, hence he withdraw the support. He would not say it. He called Shri Vajpayeeji as Shri Sitaram Vajpayeeji. That was not understandable. Shri Vajpayeeji, we will have undertake some research about it as to what is the difference between Shri Sitaram Vajpayee and Shri Vajpayee ji...*(Interruptions)* He elded Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji as Shri Sitaram Vajpayee ji this is amalgumation sort of thing. Shri Chandrashekhar ji also spoke at length that day and vehemently supported Shri Deve Gowda ji.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) : Please don't quote me. I am well aware of the Congress culture. I did not utter a single word about Shri Sitaram Kesari ji nor will I get anything by suporting Shri Deve Gowda ji. However I do not subscribe to this kind of tradition. The Prime Minister was present in the House that day and he could have defended him but you kept quite that day and when he is not present here in this House you are saying all these things. This is not the congress culture, nor that of the country.

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : Please excuse me Chandra Shekharji. You were present in the House that day Shri Sitaram Kesriji was not present here. Why did you keep sitting tight lipped that day? In his absence, all kind of things were said about him and you kept mum...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I do not want to call the name of Shri Sitaram Kesari ji bed whatever was said about him that day was not enough.

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : I would like to advise you as an old colleague that it does not before you to say such a thing about Shri Kesri ji.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : We don't here to say anything about Shri Sitaram Kesriji.

[English]

He is not under my consideration.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : You just said that whatever was said about him that day was not enough more could have been said...*(Interruptions)* You have just said it. Anyway, what has happened. I do not want to dig up things happened in past.

But you said a very true thing that day that nothing should be said about a person who is not present in the House. This is very true. But you people said all kind of things about Shri Sitaram Kesariji but we kept our cool because while abusing the communists all along we never fought elections with B.J.P., we have always held the secularism high...*(Interruptions)* please excuse me but I would like to say that all the parties have had political understanding with the B.J.P. sometime or other. Had you not formed the Government with them during the Janata Party rule? You also had the support of the B.J.P. for the V.P. Singh Government. But the Congress Party have never had any understanding with the B.J.P. It has got faith in the secularism ...*(Interruptions)*

Chairman Sir, I am proud of the secularism of the Congress party. Shri Gujaral Sahib has perhaps left. I wanted to know from him as to what he is doing for the poor people. I am the Chairman of S.Cs and S.Ts forum of M.Fs comprising 150 members. Which was also invited by Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowda for dinner at Hyderabad House. We all submitted a memoranda to him to ameleorate the lot of SCs and STs and he had agreed to take necessary steps in this direction and we believed him. I am telling you as to why we withdraw the support to Deve Gowda Government. I would like to know, can any Member win the election by ignoring the weaker sections? Every Members, every Party need their support. We all identified the issues and put path before Shri Deve Gowda ji, I am telling you it today. Then the party executive, in its meeting, told that these were not be implemented. We again met him with a delegation but nothing happened and he did not do anything. We again put before him the issues concerning the SCs/ STs. This is a very serious matter...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN) : Who has done what for the weaker sections...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : If Shri Paswan Sahib wants to speak then let him speak. I would sit down. Am I saying anything wrong?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : All Members of SC and ST forum know that we submitted the memorandum in the last days of the Government...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI KODIKUNNIL SURESH (Adoor) : We have given the memorandum. The Congress Party has given the memorandum...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. It is with the permission of Shri Venkat Swamy, Shri Paswan is speaking.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to say that just 10-12 days after our meeting with the Prime Minister, the support was withdrawn.

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : If the support was withdrawn in 10-12 days after...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Venkat Swamy, please conclude your time is over.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI AMAR RAI PRADHAN (Cooch Bihar) : If it was your opinion, then what was the need for deputation ...*(Interruptions)*

17.00 hrs.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record, except Shri Venkatswamy's speech.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : When I used to sit in Shri Paswan's place he used to sit here in my place. He used to speak the same things what I am speaking today. Today, he is saying so because he is sitting there. I know what is there in his heart. We should do something to solve these problems, Shri Paswan Sahib is sitting alongwith Shri Gujral.

I give him a month time to take necessary steps in response to the memorandum given by us relating to the problems of the weaker section of the society. He should take action on it. It relates to all of us. Then only I would think that that were not 10 days only ...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman Sir, I would say that we believe in the progressive ideology of Shri Gujral. The weakers sections of society truly believe that Shri Gujral would

[Shri G. Venkat Swamy]

certainly do something concrete for the weaker sections. I do hope that Shri Gujral would take into account.

17.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I would conclude within couple of Minutes. You should have the working class of the country. You should take action on the memoiandum submitted by 150 MPs.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, you were also there with us while submitting the memorandum.

No action is being taken on it. Therefore we should do something about it.

I would conclude with making couple of requests. The public sector industries need to be saved from destruction. We all celebrating 50th year of our Independence. You may see in the rural areas of the country, people dying of hunger and thirst they do not have the food. Something needs to be done for them ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI N.K. PREMCHANDRAN (Quilon) : What have you done for the last forty years?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please, let him conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let him conclude, please.

[Translation]

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY : I would like to say in the end that the temple of democracy legislature, executive...*(Interruptions)*. I do not want to say much but I would earnestly request you that you should fulfil the major three four demands of the Congress party.

One Prime Minister must solve the issues concerning the weaker sections of the society by implementing the memorandum submitted by 170 M.Ps in this regard. The working class of the country is in crores. They are hard pressed. Public sector is getting destroyed. You should check its destruction ...*(Interruptions)* You should protect the Public Sector industries. These need to be protected. This is a very important point. I had spoken to the Industry Minister and the Textiles Minister about it. I had spoken to Shri Deve Gowdaji also when he was the Prime Minister but the matter is still lying unresolved. If it is not done at the earliest, then the productive bone of India would ruin. I would like to urge upon the hon. Prime Minister, Shri Gujral Sahib to ponder over all these things which I have said about the working class and weaker section. I support this confidence motion and hope that he would accept our demands.

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my Party, the Tamil Maanila Congress, I rise to support the Motion moved by the Prime Minister seeking a Vote of Confidence in the Council of Ministers headed by him.

Only ten days ago we participated in another debate. The result of that debate, the result of that Division was known even when the then Prime Minister stood up to move the Motion. The result of this debate was also known when the Prime Minister stood up to move the Motion. In ten days there has been a sea-change in the political equations among parties in this country. Today, I intend to speak only for a few minutes to analyse all the events of the last twenty days. But it is my sincere hope and it is the hope of my Party that all sections of the House have learnt valuable lessons from what has happened since the 30th of March, 1997.

Sir, there are only six or seven major national political parties in India. All the rest are regional parties. Politics in India will revolve round one or the other of the major national political parties. Increasingly the regional parties are demanding their rightful place in the governance of India. It is, therefore, important that men and women who hold high offices, particularly high offices like leaders of national political parties, high offices like Prime Minister should conduct themselves with great dignity. In the last three weeks the level of public debate has descended into public diatribe. That must end and with the advent of Prime Minister, Shri Inder Kumar Gujral, born in Lahore, realised in the crucible of the freedom struggle, grown under the shadow of freedom fighters, educated in the schools and colleges with a tradition of liberal education, nurtured in the cultural pluralism of India, a firm believer in secularism, a firm believer in cultural pluralism and the traditions of India, I sincerely hope under his Government, during this term of office, the level of public debate in India will rise and we can stand tall and proud among our people.

Sir, the year that ended on the 31st of March 1997 has been a reasonably satisfactory year. There may be sections in this House who have differences with the then Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda, but it would not be right to say that Government did not perform. Editorial after editorial which was written on the demise of that Government had tribute to the performance of that Government.

I do not wish to join issue with Shri Venkat Swamy on many of the questions that he raised. Let me just highlight a few factors.

On the 4th of April, 1996, India's foreign exchange reserves were 17.18 billion dollars. On the day the year ended, it was 22.34 billion dollars and this was after we redeemed in full every single India Development Bond and we met every international payment obligation. On the 29th of June, 1996, inflation touched its lowest point of 4.18 per cent. It is a matter of record that inflation increased because we had to correct petroleum prices, something which remained uncorreced for two-and-a-half years. Inflation touched 7.99 per cent on 15.2.1997; but in two months thereafter, on 5.4.1997, inflation dipped by a full point to 6.99 per cent. I am proud that when Shri H.D. Deve Gowda laid down office, inflation was once again brought to below seven per cent.

Monetary management in 1996-97 has been outstanding. In 1994-95, broad money grew by over 22 per cent. In 1995-96, the pendulum swung to the other extreme and broad money grew by 13.2 per cent. For the first time, we have brought it into balance, In 1996-97, broad money grew by about 15.6 per cent and believe me if, we persist, with keeping M3 growth to between 15 and 16 per cent for three successive years, we would have licked inflation finally and we would have put an end to inflationary expectations.

The Average inflation in the first four years of the Congress Government was 10 per cent. Average inflation in 1995-96 was 7.8 per cent and average inflation in 1996-97 was only 6.3 per cent. A number of reasons were there, a number of factors were there and a number of constraints were there. One is not apportioning blame. The years 1991-92 to 1993-94 were difficult years. The year 1996-97 has relatively an easier year. Therefore, there will be differences. The point is that we are in a much better footing today, our economy is sounder today, and therefore, we can join hands in building a much stronger economy.

I believe, Sir, we can sustain a seven per cent growth. We can attain an eight per cent growth in two to three years. I only reach my hand out to Shri Venkat Swamy: 'Let us join hands in building on all that has been done in the last five to six years'.

Sir, the purpose of my intervention today was not to highlight the economic performance. I wish to turn my attention to some other issues.

I am glad that the Prime Minister began by recalling Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's 'Tryst with Destiny'. I also welcome the Prime Minister's statement soon after he was sworn in that this Government does not believe in anti-'something' and surely there is no place for anti-Congressism in this Government. I think, that is a very wise statement and it is a correct statement. This Government and the Congress Party have to work together and I hope in due course, at least on some issues, this Government and the B.J.P. can work together. As, Shri Somnath Chatterjee mentioned, we do not determine the composition of this House. It is the people of India who determine the composition of this House. Our duty is to understand the mandate, however complex it may be, interpret it creatively and work a Government for five years.

Sir, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's 'Tryst with Destiny' remains as a vision, as a goal, as a dream and I am glad that Prime Minister, Shri I.K. Gujral has pledged to work for redeeming the substantial promises made when India became free. I only wish to address five issues, five concerns and I will not elaborate in any one of them.

The First, Mr. Prime Minister is : 'Pledge your Government to promote cooperative federalism'. There is no shame in running the Central Government with the full cooperation of the Chief Ministers and the State Governments.

In fact, all Indians will walk tall and proud when they know that the Government of India is not the concern of forty or fifty men and women, it is the concern of all the States of India and all the Chief Ministers of India. What is the BJP doing? The BJP is also working towards some kind of a cooperative federalism. If you will pardon my reference in a lighter vein, you are now like paying travellers in borrowed taxis. In Punjab, you are travelling in a car driven by the Akali Dal; in Haryana, you are travelling in a car driven by the Haryana Vikas Party; in Maharashtra, it is a car driven by Shiv Sena; in Uttar Pradesh, it is a car driven by Kumari Mayawati; You are looking for other cars and other drivers who can drive you. There is nothing wrong in that as long as you understand that this is not driven by convenience, this is driven by a fundamental principle of governance in India, namely, that India can only be governed by a cooperative federalism. I wish you well in your Democratic National Front. I only hope that you do not create more parties in order to build your Front.

Mr. Prime Minister, my second request to you is : Pledge that your Government will adhere to what the CMP said-an alternative style of governance. This should not be a Government of a different set of men and women. What we have pledged is an alternative style of governance, a governance where transparency, accountability, dialogue and, above all, mutual respect and courtesy are there, whoever forms the Government. You are by nature a consiliator. You could not have been a successful diplomat if you were not a conciliator. We cannot afford to be confrontationist in this country. What are we confronting? Who are we confronting? If we have to confront anything and vanquish anything, it is poverty, disease and pestilence. We cannot confront each other and try to vanquish each other inside this House. That happens once in five years at the hustings. But once the elections are over, I request you, Mr. Prime Minister, to pledge yourself to what the CMP said-an alternative style of Governance where there is no place for mistrust, no place for suspicion, no place for a hidden agendas, no place for that undefined phrase known as 'witch-hunting', but there must be a place only for conciliation, civil discourse, courtesy and mutual respect.

My third request, Mr. Prime Minister, is : Please keep in the forefront the political-social agenda, to which

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

all of us are committed. I shall mention only five Items. First, let us pass the Lok Pal Bill; second, let us pass the Constitution (Amendment) Bill for Reservation for Women; third, let us empower Panchayati Raj Institutions which have today elected representatives but virtually no money or authority or status; fourth, let us rewrite the so-called Official Secrets Act; and fifth, let us pass a Freedom of Information Act. These are five major items on the political-social agenda. Let us pledge to do this in calendar 1997.

My fourth request, Mr. Prime Minister, is : Please continue the 'Gujral Doctrine', notwithstanding the lack of understanding about the doctrine. There will be an opportunity for you to explain it. Please continue that doctrine. It is based on non-reciprocity, and that is right.India is a big country. India is the biggest country in South Asia and our relations with our neighbours cannot be based upon reciprocity in every matter. In fact, when I was the Commerce Minister, I advanced the proposition that we must give unilateral trade concessions to our partners in South Asia. It is that which brought into fore SAPTA, which will become SAFTA. Continue with confidence in the 'Gujral doctrine'. It is the right doctrine for this nation for this age and we will strengthen you.

Finally, Mr. Prime Minister, my request is—I do not wish to elaborate this; this is a matter which, I find, will gladden the heart of Shrimati Sushma Swaraj—please pass the 'Chidambaram Budget'. (ends)

[Translation]

SHRI SUKH LAL KUSHWAHA (Satna) : Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I use to oppose the confidence motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister in this House. Many hon. senior members have expressed their views in favour of and against this motion. I do not think it proper to repeat all those things. I have been elected to this House for the first time. You may call it fortunate or unfortunate that after coming to this House this is the fourth time when I am taking part in the debate on the confidence motion. I got the opportunity to listen to the views of hon. Members on the confidence motion or non-confidence motion four times.

When I review the History of this nation, the Indian Democracy and the polity of the country, I find that since 1947 till date long discussions were held about the down trodden backwards, minorities and the poor of this country but despite all this their unemployment, poverty, starvation, helplessness, atrocities and social disparity did not come to an end.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to through you that many hon. Members have spoken in favour of and against this motion and in the speech of a senior member of Congress, Shri G. Venkat Swamy, hearing about the condition of the poor, labourers and farmers, I felt prided. Their affliction has pricked me since the seens of power was in their hands and they have ruled this country since independence till date in the name of Gandhi ji and Nehru ji. You know that if the calf of the cow or buffalow dies, his body is filled with shows and kept before the cow or buffalow to milk therefrom. Similarly the Congress Party showed the imaginary calf before the poor and the helpless people of the country and ruled this country and today they are shedding crocodile tears. I feel pity on listening these things from him.

Basti Ke Sare Log Aatis Parast The
Ghar Jal Raha Tha Aur Samunder Karib Tha.

What were you doing when the runs of power was in your hands? Today, the condition is adverse. Whenever I go to my constituency and meet the poor and the dalits there, I had the opportunity to take birth there, I see that there is the searcacity of potable water and at many places, the children of the poor people die of starvation but we feel that our duty is over by speaking here. It will not bring an end to the problem. We will have to see the other aspect of the problem also.

Our sister, Sushma Swaraj ji has said many things. I have felt her pain and agony in her speech. She said that the Government of 13 parties run for 10 months and fell down. Now, 13 parties are left out of the 16 parties. The no-confidence motion came again, and then all of them got united.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that anything can happen anywhere in this country and that is less. In the present set up in the country, the fundamental right of a person to live with dignity, is not availed by him in this country. There is no social justice no equality and no poverty alleviation in the country. It is a sin to murder someone but it is more sinful if the feeling of untouchability is spread against the people of a particular caste in the society.

It is the biggest sin and it has happened in our country. Due to Manu Samriti, it has happened in this country. Manu Samriti was implemented in this country with great force. Therefore, unless we muster the courage to fight against Manuwad, it can not be abolished from the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that if Sita was asked to undergo fire test and thereafter thrown out in single in pregnancy and even then such a person in called Maryada Purshottam in this country, then you can very well imagine the sort of social justice in this country. Sukh Lal is not saying so, but whatever I have learnt in this country, is speaking. When the wife of the younger brother is not won by bravery and later on she was made Panchali and that person is called as Dharamraj, then you can Imagine the social justice in this country. When people can take birth from ear, eye, nose and mouth, then the Government of 13 parties should not be taken as an unusual thing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the no-confidence motion is being up time and again. I would like to urge upon my colleagues of Bhartiya Janta Party that they should give one more suggestion to the colleagues of Congress Party that today the number of persons living below poverty line is 40 crore whereas at the time of independence, they were merely 10 crore and that 10 crore has slow increased upto 40 crore. The Congress has utilised power for its benefit. They should at least now pay attention towards the crores of people and should pay attention towards the children of 2-4 years, who are running for water in that scorching sum and should not only confine themselves to their own facilities but should work for the welfare of those who are living below poverty line.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the crime and injustice are increasing in the country. There is no need of allegation or counter allegation. Our colleagues should understand it. What is being taught to us is :

> Saurashtra Somnathan Cha, Shailay Mallikarjunan Ujjayim mahakalam Omkaram
> Paralapam Paidhnatham Cha Dakinya bhim sakram
> Setu Bandhu Cha Ramesham Nagesham Darukabne
> Etani Jyotirlingam Shapam Pratah Pathentra
> Varajasyam Vishwesham, Triyambkam Gautmi Pate Himalaya Tu Kedaram, Grashneysham Shivalaya Saptjanam Kritam, Papan Samaren Pinishyanti.

Meaning thereby that all the crimes, scams and hawalas would be subsided, commit hundred crimes, all would be pardoned not only in one birth but upto seven births. By reading, this couplet, all the crimes would be pardoned. This soil of teaching in this country should be stopped.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have doubt in this confidence motion and what has been said by the hon. Defence Minister also creates doubts. Sir, due to some reason we were in the jail. Once in the jail we came to know that there has been an alliance of Dalits and the Backwards in Uttar Pradesh, people of the entire country had expectations from it but later on due to differences, it was broken. The one quality of our Defence Minister, Shri Mulayam Singhji is that he swallows the person with whom he lives and due to this quality, the party with whom he had the alliance, was swallowed by him. That party is not existing in the entire country except Uttar Pradesh to some extent. Therefore I would like to suggest Gujral ji that he should because of Mulayam Singh ji.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since, time is short, I would like to sum up by opposing this confidence motion and by extending my thanks to you.

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA (Patiala) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think the country has not benefited by the formation of the new Government but I think this House must have been benefited. They have spread for only two months of summer, May and June and no benefit seems from that. So far as new Prime Minister Shri Inder Kumar Gujral is concerned he is a man of very good nature, learned and wherever he took over command of the country. He shouldered it very well. We have emotional relations with him. I think that he has understood the Punjab problem very well and spoke about that at a time when Punjab was burning, rottening. Only Congress is responsible for the Punjab problem. He said that the people of Punjab could be won by love. Today, in the morning while moving confidence motion he put forward the same feeling in his speech. To my mind, come the words of the Punjabi poet about the people of Punjab that :

> "Pyar nal ye karan Gulami,
> Teh na Jhalde Kisi ki"

he understand them in a right way. I do not want to go into details about the Punjab problem but what will be you contribution to resolve the same because he holds the topmost post of the country. Shri Deve Gowdaji had made a commitment to waive off loans of Punjab and at that time, he had also spoken about the issues being faced by the farmers of the country. They pay Rs. 700 per quintal of wheat to foreign countries but if they have love towards the farmers of the country, Shri Deve Gowdaji had made commitment for payment of Rs. 600 for per quintal of wheat, he (the present Prime Minister) will announce. So, this is my feeling and expectation.

The second thing is about choice of regional parties. We have emotional relations with regional parties. Shirmoni akali Dal has been the champion of its real federal structure. The fact which Shiromoni Akali Dal had said about 25 years back, the same fact Mr. Chidambaram is saying today. Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu is saying in newspapers and the policy of decentralisation, decentralisation of power of which the Akali Dal has been the champion, that thing is talked about nowadays. Earlier orders used to be come from Delhi as to who should be the Chief Minister of a State. But I am glad that orders are issued from the States as to who should be the Prime Minster of this country. The regional parties should be glad to learn about this fact.

So far Gujral Saheb is concerned, we have faith in him but alongwith whom he is going, whom he trusts upon, we do not trust upon them. The people of this country had never trusted upon congress. The congress betrayed each party of country. They betrayed this country and in my view, there is no party which has not been betryed by them did they spare the D.M.K.? Did they spare the Asom Gon Parishad? They have hurt us more. They hurted us more because we had opposed

[Shri Prem Singh Chandumajra]

Emergency. We were failed during the days of emergency and conducted morcha at the Akal Thakt Sahib. We were in jails till we got released all the people of the country from jails and ended black bad days and people were given freedom to write and read.

The Congress brought down our Government each time to teach a lesson for that. The Congress invaded dur Akal Thakt with Army and tanks. 93 percent of people out of those who fought for the sake of independence of the country readily hanged themselves, belonged to this State. 85 percent people suffered troubles in rule...*(Interruptions)*. Just listen to me...*(Interruptions)* You don't get excited...*(Interruptions)* Listen to me silently. When I have got the opportunity, I will speak the truth...*(Interruptions)*. We were presented as dreaded animals. We are made traitors to the country, they have become people of the country. We said kickbacks were paid in tanks deal, we said that there had been sugar scam, we said they committed tandoor case, we said about urea scam. Thus we became traitors and they have become patriots, protectors of the country. We feel sad about it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whenever they speak, they say that they have formed the Government on the basis of the mandate given by the people of the country. Sometimes they say that the mandate is against communalism. Sometimes they say it is in favour of secular forces. In reality it is against the Congress. In Bengal, people thought the CPM could defeat Congress, they voted for the C.P.M. In states like Gujrat, Rajasthan, Delhi, people thaught the B.J.P. could defeat it, they voted in favour of the B.J.P. They thought Haryana Vikas Party could defeat it in Haryana so they voted for the Haryana Vikas Party. This Mandate was against the Congress. I want to ask the Prime Minister today that the people who are sitting behind you whether they did not say to the people to vote for them, we would teach lesson to congressman. We would expose their scams, scandals. They who have looted the country, destroyed the country, we will take account of that from them. Paswanji, Mulayam Singhji kept on saying, those who fought elections, they kept saying that we would punish congressman for their wrong doing. I can say that if non-congress Government would have been forced as per the mandate and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee been the Prime Minister of the country. So much money could have been recovered from the Congressmen, our hall would have been filled with money. What spectacle is going on today. The country is reeling under hunger. People do not get flour, pulses, employment and they say that change him, don't change that person. Sometimes the United Front is good and at the same time it is bad for them and again it becomes good for them. They talk about secularism. When Mulayam Singhji said so we felt sad. Are they secular? The congressmen cannot be secular and to gain power if they had to bring down any Gurdwara, they did so...*(Interruptions)* Tails of cows were got cut down in a tample for the sake of power. I am a witness. They got the mosque demolished for the sake of power and they profess to be secular. I want to ask them what is this their secularism that chastity of daughter-in-laws and daughters was violated on the roads of this country, children were burnt to death by putting a tyre around their necks. Who were these people, I want to ask? Whose sons were those. They were the sons of Guru Gobind Singh who at the age of nine sent his father to become martyr at Chandni Chowk for the sake of religion of this country, for the talk of the honour of the country and they sacrified his life at Delhi. He said :

Khalsa mera roop hai khas
Khalse mein hoon Karoon niwas.

They are called secular after shedding blood of Khalsa. I want to know who created such conditions?

My friend Rajesh Pilot is not sitting here. He was saying that those who killed, we went to attend their bhogs and we kept on going to attend bhogs of person dying. I want to ask that sant Harchand Singh Longowal also sacrificed his life for the sake of the country. Tell me the name of the Prime Minister who went to attend his bhog. We were all there, considered enemy of the Punjab and Beant Singh ji was considered to be worst. Our Chief Prakash Singh Badal attended his last rites, Sardar Barnala attended, I myself went and their Chief and the Prime Minister of the country went there only for two minutes. We were there for two hours. Our Sardar Balwant Singhji sacrificed his life, their chief and the Prime Minister of the country could not go there. Their Pandey ji who sacrificed his life at Ludhiana, Balwant Singh and I went to attend his rites. So you lit the fire and you yourself go to put out it and you say we go to attend bhogs.

This is the case with them. People of our Punjab have understood your truthfulness that after litting the fire you used to go to the some house and ask from where this smoke is coming. You speak in the name of patrotism. Our brothers, our sister braved the bullets on their body in the wars with Pakistan and China for the independence of the country. Food was supplied at fronts and I want to say in this House today also that there was so much of blood-shed, so much was plundered, chestity of women was violated but did in the name of humanity anybody express grief even for two minutes in this House for the sake of humanity and to express sympathy? I want to say again that should the country require sacrifice even today, if first of all any body's head will be in the forefront, it will be that of Sardar Prakash Singh Badal, it will be that of Jatendar Gurcharan Singh Tohra. If more heads will be required It will be that of Sardar Surjeet Singh Barnala and of our colleagues. Those who have put on marks of patriots, their head won't come for sacrifice.

We wanted that the members of the Janta Dal and the United Front should have come with us. We said to Vajpayeeji that the prey has fallen by luck. The Congress used to joke with people so far, viewed the spectacle of the country. So far, but now it is in trap as if a he-cat get trapped in the flood, the Congress is in the same position. Now they have been thrashed by coming together. We thought it but I don't know how our brothers trusted upon them.

We are happy on Inder Kumar Gujral's becoming the Prime Minister but we are more sad and concerned that they want to ascend their shoulders and swim across and ultimately they will drawn them.

Such is their habit so, when their Government will collapse then we will feel very sorry. Our party leader Sardar Barnalaji has told the same thing to Deve Gowdaji during discussion on confidence motion but he did not pay heed to our advice and the result was what we were expecting. Today also, we give the same advice to Gujral Sahab that the result will be the same as was in the case of Deve Gowda. So, please don't trust these people. But he believes in them. So, we oppose this motion.

I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one minute. Congress Party had committed atrocities/oppression in Punjab it's alright. I am not giving any explanation in this regard but who molested and committed atrocities on the sikh women and who had imposed TADA? Of course, it was BJP.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What is this? Is it personal explanation?

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, harmonious situation is prevailing in Punjab. The people of Punjab have given the verdict in favour of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shiromani Akali Dal. Shri Atalji and Shiromani Akali Dal has created such an atmosphere in Panjab there by defeating the evil plans of those people who have created rift between Hindu-sikh unity, who have created clash between brothers of such an atmosphere is created throughout the country?...*(Interruptions)**

I will tell you this thing...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howrah) : Sir, we take strong objection to what he has said. There is a limit to everything. We cannot tolerate this...*(Interruptions)*

We take strong objection to his words. There is a limit for everything. What is he saying now? ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down. I will check the record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : There is a limit to this...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please listen to me.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : He has to withdraw his words...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will expunge those words. Those remarks will be expunged.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : He has said those words in public. He must withdraw them...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It will not go on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : We cannot allow it. There is a limit to all this. Is this the language to be used in the House? He should withdraw all those words. He said these words in the presence of leaders like Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala....*(Interruptions)*

17.48 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MR. SPEAKER : Please allow Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev to speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am allowing your leader to speak. What more can I do?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, one hon. Member while he was speaking before this House continuously used unparliamentary language specially directing it against the Congress. To some extent, we did tolerate it, but some of the words that he used were very harsh....*(Interruptions)* I have got another 140 Members here. They have got 160 Members ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : He should apologise to our Party....*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Why do you not allow Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev to speak?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I know that the Member is new. He may not know how to speak Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala is here. I have lot of respect for him. I would request Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala to stand up and say whether he admits what the hon. Member has said. I want to know whether the hon. Member is regretting over what he has said ...*(Interruptions)*

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* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA (Sangrur) : Hon. Deputy Speaker has already ordered the unparliamentary words to be deleted and expunged ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : The Member himself has to get up and say that he withdraws his words...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI A.C. JOS : Sir, I am very sorry that a senior Member like Barnalaji is speaking like this. It is very wrong...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : He should apologize...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have understood. Please sit down.

It is very unfortunate that the hon. Members are using such languages.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you interfering?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Barnala, would you like to say something? Now, I may have to give my ruling.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA : Sir, that word was deleted from the records...*(Interruptions)*...If the Members feel agitated even after that, he withdraws those words which he has said...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam) : Sir, the Member himself should say this and not Shri Barnalaji...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I think, it is all right now.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I request my friend Prof. Chandumajra to withdraw his words.

MR. SPEAKER : I think, in all humility, he should.

[Translation]

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : Shri Chandra Shekher ji has asked me to withdraw my wards. I withdraw my words...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. Chandumajra, why are you complicating this?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I think, he has withdrawn.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : If you do not want to listen to me, do not listen to me. But please listen to yours leader.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you are satisfied, we will be satisfied. Are you satisfied?

MR. SPEAKER : I think, in all humility, Prof. Chandumajra, you should withdraw those words.

[Translation]

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, they are interfering in my speech. First, you please listen to me...*(Interruptions)* If my words have pinched them then...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you interfering?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Dasmunsi, how can you do that? Sit down, please.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. have you withdrawn your words?

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : Sir, I withdraw my words.

MR. SPEAKER : It is Okey. You have withdrawn

Have you completed your speech?

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA : Yes, Sir, I have concluded my speech.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHAMANAND MANDAL (Monghyr) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, The Prime Minister has spoken about the independence struggle while seeking vote of confidence. It is very unfortunate that this Government has to come to this House four times in 11 months seeking vote of confidence. Prime Minister Mr. Gujral sahab has mentioned about 'Namak satyagraha' and has taken the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru while discussing about independence struggle. The Satyagraha/Movement which was started for having a right to have a handful of salt, has turned into a movement for Independence struggle. 'Satyagraha' was the right/duty of Mahatma Gandhi. Now, I would like to discuss as to what has become the right/duty of the country.

The Prime Minister has mentioned about the background of his political life and his family and he has given intellected base for discussion on vote of confidence. I don't have anything to say about the Prime Minister. He is an able qualified person. It is a fact that whenever he was given any responsibility, he has performed it efficiently. There is no doubt in it. Despite of this, I am here to oppose the vote of confidence motion. I am opposing this because we do not have any faith in whatever talks held regarding support between himself and Congress. It was said that Congress will extended support continuously for four years but they cam withdraw the support in two months, four months or even in month. They make It clear not to repeat the mistakes of Deve Gowdaji. We want to know what mistakes he had committed. No one from all the hon. members, who have participated in the discussion, has told the reason...*(Interruptions)* Yes, they have told the reason but they have not discussed about the letter written to the President regarding withdraw of support. That's why we have said that you have extended support on the question of price rise and inflation...*(Interruptions)*

They have not discussed the problems being faced by the common man in the entire speech given on the question of withdrawal of support. Person like me can come to only one conclusion from this. Today it has been published in the popers and I have read it that when the ceremony was about to end at that time the Congress President was scolding the Home Secretary. He was issuing orders to the Home Secretary as to what to be done and what ought not to be done. This is the season for their withdrawal of support. So Gujral Sahab, if any sort of help is not offered on your part in connection with all the scams being investigated into by CBI and which are in court then they can withdraw support on any day and they can lead the country towards anarchy and destruction for their own interest. You have to be careful.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have talked about principle and policy in this House. Through you, I would like to tell particularly my left front friends that I have been in communist movement for 30 years. I was in this movement since 1964 during my school days that's why I would like to tell communist friends...*(Interruptions)*

18.00 hrs.

That today hon. leader of CPM Shri Somnath Chatterje's speech was centred on two points. One was that the Government would sum on policies and on the issue of secularism they say that they will not allow BJP to come to power at any cost.

Then the Defence Minister, pointing towards BJP, has said they will never come to power. I want to just ask them that they talk about the principles and policy then what was the programme of CPM earlier and what is it now? Have they changed their programmes? You people talk about peoples democracy. This is in your programme and you have said that the leader would be from workers class. You have formed this front, you please tell me who is your leader?...*(Interruptions)* which party belongs to the workers class. You please tell me where is your leader, where are your principles? ...*(Interruptions)* You are the leader, you please tell me have you formulated the programme exactly in the way you have said or addressed in Peoples democracy. Have you ever written anywhere that you will accept any person from any category class as your leader and you will change your leaders in between. You have never said like that. You have betrayed Marxism, you have betrayed your programme. You have cheated the worker class. You have cheated the communist movement ...*(Interruptions)*

You people talk about the policy and Principles. We want to ask CPM...*(Interruptions)* where is their National Democracy? I am talking about the difference in the programme of CPM and CPI, where is the National Democracy? Whom you are supporting? Since question of principle have arisen so, I would talk about BJP also. I want to tell you why I am here and whether it is justifiable or not, I will tell you everything so, I would like to tell you that...*(Interruptions)* if I have joined the Samata Party then the reason for this has been practical terrorism which you people donot want to understand?

MR. SPEAKER : You please look at me and speak.

[English]

Shri Mandal, you have already spoken for ten minutes. I will give you only two minutes more.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAHAMANAND MANDAL : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to be brief. These people have got no regards for policies and principles. Hypocrisy writ large in this House. The people of the country must know the reality. Therefore, I am taking up this issue secondly. I do not know whether the C.P.I. has made some changes in it or not but I would like to ask them as to what happened to their policy that foreign capital and M.N.Cs would take the country toward economic slavery which would result in the political slavery and where is their national democracy with national capitalists class. Now the economy is with foreign democracy under Shri P. Chidambaram what happened to their views that M.N.Cs will bring economic slavery and finish the employment opportunities now it is all happening. It would be better if they change their programmes and policies. How they should form a front, become minister, prime minister and enjoy. They have not changed your programmes and policies. They are in the U.F. What light they have got to be there. They propagate and publicise their policies and they have betrayed their divoted workers.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIYA (Bankura) : It is good that you went there.

SHRI BRAHAMANAND MANDAL : What I have done?...*(Interruptions)*. The Front colleagues ask as to why you went there but I would like to ask them who follow casteism and who raise the issue of backward forward or Hindu-Muslim? I would like to tell all this. When in 1992, Bihar was reeling under spate of murder, lost and dacoities and tearful atmosphere. When I had led a demonstration of 20,000 people on the roads of Monghyr against the Laloo Government in Bihar. Did I commit any mistake? Again in 1994 I organised a rally of 30,000 people against the tearful atmosphere in Bihar then the C.P.I. had tried to stop me and on the behest of Lalooji, I was expelled from the party.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : In 1994, this show was being managed by the top leadership. The crime mafia, dominating cities as well as villages was committing massacres. We had launched a agitation in 1994 against such elements and those people in power patronising them. I was expected from the party for launching this agitation.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : During that period, he had made an earnest effort to organise the downtroden and weaker sections of the society because these poor people were most affected by the criminal activities of the mafia persons. The murder of a downtroden or a person of the weaker sections of the society causes panic in the village. This atmosphere of tear and terror has jeopardised the democracy. Therefore, we launched an agitation against it. The C.P.I. leadership asked me do not to launch the agitation failing which I would be expelled from the party. However, I launched the agitation and I had to come here today, what is the condition of the C.P.I. in Bihar. The Chief Minister of Bihar says that I as well as the CPI are baseless and not only he has given me the ticket but he has helped me in winning this election.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now. You have spoken for about fifteen minutes.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No please.

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh) : He should be given two three minutes more.

MR. SPEAKER : He has already spoken for about fifteen minutes.

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : Today It is pertinent to safeguard the democracy. Today, the main danger to the democracy is from the Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party the fractions of United Front. These parties can never be secular.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you wasting the time of the House.

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : They talk out about secularism. Those who attack democracy can never be democratic and those who are not democratic can also not be sceular. Infact, they do not need it all. When there is a discussion on policies and principles, such people speak highly on these things. This is depended differently as to who is secular and who is not. Some people say that politics should be separated from religion and some say to wipe out religion from the country and yet other say that those who commit murders, dacoities, rapes, massacres and create mafia raj and Crime raj could be secular. Therefore, I would like to urge upon Shri Gujral to be cautions of men pseudo seenlarisks and they should be thrown out of the core of the heart. I would again request him to be cautious that those who are posing with you, may at any moment betray you. Why did you not make Shri Ramvilas ji a dalit the Prime Minister of the country. If you would have made him the Prime Minister, if would have strengthened the U.F. Shri Davendra Parsad Yadav, clean image politician has been thrown out of the cabinet. Today you have reached the stage that you can not accommodate a single honest person...*(nterruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, I therefore would like to appeal to give me some more time to raise some more points.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Mandal please conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : Our Defence Minister Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav is the leader of a movement. I do not have very close acquitance with him but I used to home him in high esteem earlier, But I would like to ask him the Muzaffarnagar incident occurred in the day light during his regime. Who is responsible for that? The State guest house incident also happened under his rule...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : If you want to sit for the whole night I do not have any objection.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV (Purnia) : Please say a few words about Danapur also.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No, Shri Pappu Yadav.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : I would like to ask Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav ji that as to why the United Front Government did not make Ms. Mayawati the Chief Minister of U.P. The B.J.P. made her the Chief Minister and this honoured a dalit women but you people did not do so. You yourself should tell as to who is antidalit. If you would have made her the Chief Minister, Such a situation would not have arisen. Therefore you have got no right to be called secular. You could even have also made you party leader Shri Beni Prasad Verma, the Chief Minister of U.P. but your whole politics is to secure chain for yourself and you can not let any other leader to grow.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Mandal, I have to call the next speaker now.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL : Hon. Speaker sir, I would make only one or two points now you are not safeguard the interests of dalits, weaker sections of society and minorities. You can not say anything at your own. Therefore should like to say to you that views being expressed here would ultimately jeopardise the democracy. If it has to be protected, such people have to be opposed, we will have to struggle hard. I would like to request the Prime Minister to tell us as to what will be his attitude towards these issues in the coming days.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I sincerely thank you for giving me time to express my views.

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARATI (Khajuraho) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, when Shri Sharad Pawar was speaking some comments were made regarding Vishwa Hindu Parishad...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. OMPAL SINGH 'NIDAR' (Jalesar) : Mr. Speaker Sir, such a serious allegation has been levelled.

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am clarifying it openly that Shri Pawar, allegating Vishwa Hindu Parishad in his statement, said that a moment is being carried out to liberate Mathura Krishna Bhoomi...

[English]

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : Sir, what is happening in this House? Can anybody get up at any time and speak anything?

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Sir, how would things work in this way? If I do not clarify then...

MR. SPEAKER : Please, sit down.

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Sir, he said that Vishwa Hindu Parishad in the name of Mathura Krishna Bhoomi...

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Kumari Uma Bharati, I think you have made your point.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : I am on a point of correction.

[Translation]

I am just clarifying a point...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sharad Pawarji said that in the name of Krishna Janma Bhoomi Vishwa Hindu Parishad has collected crores of rupees. Sharad Pawarji has made a false statement in the House. Either expunge it from the proceeding or ask Sharad Pawar ji to tender an apology because Vishwa Hindu Parishad has not collected crores of rupees as donation. Either Sharad Pawar ji should tender an apology or expunge it from the proceeding. Please tell me whether it would be expunged from the record? He had also made an objection on the name of an animal...*(Interruptions)* This debate is being televised and being watched by crores of viewers. How did a member of Parliament made a false statement in the House? How will it do?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is your opinion in this regard? ...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Please give an assurance...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Enough, enough. I think, you have made your point.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARATI : Either Sharad Pawar ji should prove that Vishwa Hindu Parishad has collected donation in the name of Krishna Janma Bhoomi, or he should apologise or this should be expunged from the record...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Kumari Uma Bharati has refuted it. That is enough.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : One point is being repeated in the House. I do not want to indulge in such talks nor want to mention any name whether they resort to abuses or gundaism or anything is said. The hon. Member thinks himself to be very intelligent and a leader of the cadre of Bhartiya Community Party but she does not have the information. When I was cheated in Uttar Pradesh, I said to the Hon. Governor and the messanger of Shri Narasimharaoji who gave me the message that Ms. Mayawati should form the Government with my support and not with support of Bharatiya Janata Party and then I held a Press Conference...*(Interruptions)* One allegation is levelled time and again. After that I had told them to give in writing to the Hon. Governor that they would have no truck with Bhartiya Janata Party, I was ready to extend my support.

DR. BALIRAM (Lalganj) : You are making false statement. your goons were hatching a conspiracy to kill us. You were not extending your support ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Gujaral has been elected as the Prime Minister of the country. He is an old acquintance friend of mine. He is a political worker, as well as a man of wisdom. I congratulate him and my good wishes are with him that he should try to lead the country in a new direction. I have a lot of expectations from him. But when I read his statement today in the morning, I was a bit disappointed to some extent. He reminded the days of freedom struggle in the beginning of his speech. He reminded us the experiences of the Jail, about Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. He also reminded us about the sacrifices made by the people and at the same time he also said that we would work towards removing the poverty, helplessness, pain and suffering of the masses. But I don't know what has happened to our country, whosoever becomes the Prime Minister, he starts from these points that liberalisation would continue, foreign companies would continue to come, they would continue to increase the grace of the country. In my view, the experience of the whole of the world is same. Somnathji, you know more than me that wherever, the foreign companies have gone...My friend the former Minister of Finance and ex-Minister of Commerce has come. I respect him very much. He is one of my old friends. I had told him at that time I was not satisfied with budget. But because of his qualifications, I request him to join the Government because this Government require the leadership of people like you. Whatever Shri Somnath Chatterjee may do, he cannot contribute anything in running this Government. Because the ways this Government have adopted and what Mr. Gujaral has said in his statement, from that it appears that India is going in such a dark alley from where it would be very difficult to come out. It is not an usual thing. How we would be able to change language, definition and the mentality of the country by giving assurances of liberalisation to the industrialists after becoming the Prime Minister. You sent stability. There is a difference between stability status. You can only achieve stability when you try to link the sufferings of the people with your policies. Stability would come when the public of the country realise that time is changing. This budget is meant for a handful of people. If you are happy over a few luxury items brought in the budget of our earlier Finance Minister and if you consider that happiness as happiness of India, then keep in mind that the feelings of the people would be aroused, there would be anarchy and lawlessness. Martin Luther King had said :

[English]

> "Violence is nothing but an expression of oppressed feelings."

[Translation]

Today the feelings of the people are suppressed and they expect something else from us. Mr. Speaker, we would like to suggest our Prime Minister to change his policies to some extent. I don't say that you should change the policy of liberalisation or you should try in that direction. If you would try, perhaps this Government would fall much earlier than it is expected to run. I want that this Government should remain in power. You would not be able to take some concrete step, but change your voice. I had told my friends of Congress at that time, there is not any ill intention also, Congress has always been speaking the language of the poor people, but I don't want to go in that dispute that how much it has done for the poor. But the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' had continuously been in the air from Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to Indira Gandhi. Pandit Nehru had said that if regional imbalances would continue to increase, the country would split. I think that unequality would increase due to the present economic policies. Inequality between people and the regions would increase. Our friend Shri Venkat Swami get angry with us for nothing. I had never referred to the name of his president in my speech. I don't consider myself competent enough to say something about him. He get angry for nothing. But I would like to say that Shri Deve Gowda ji was not responsible for abolishing Public Undertakings. This work was started by Shri Manmohan Singh ji who is present in the House. You raised your voice in favour of disinvestment in Public Undertakings. Why you are silent today? So, don't blame others. Congressmen should not get angry with us. It is the old culture of Congress that abuses the outgoing persons and salutes the persons joining it. It is not in favour of the country. I ask you that Shri Sharad Pawar did not utter a word on that day. Today, he sees all demerits in Shri Deve Gowda. You have also treated Shri Narsimha Rao in the same manner. This is neither the culture of Indian or Congress.

If there is no courtesy in politics then we can not bring any change in the development of the country. There may be political differences. If we won't respect Atalji, If we won't respect Shri Somnath Chatterjee, if we won't respect Shri Indrajit Gupta, if we cannot respect Shri Narasimha Rao then we cannot do anything. The people who cannot give respect to leaders of such a stature can never support the idea of providing a respectful life to 40 crores helpless people. That is why I say that there is no difference between ordinary etiquette and revolutionary thoughts. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say one more thing, Sushmaji have delivered a very good speech today. I have sent her a written complimentary note. But whenever Sushmaji starts her speech sometimes she creates a lot of misunderstanding.

I want to tell her that I do not figure in that list about which you have made a mention. Congress Party had not withdrawn support from us. Sushamaji you know that even after my resignation, at that time leaders of congress continued to say that we have not withdrawn support but Chandrashekharji has resigned on his own. I won't wait for that because I believe that who soever is the Prime Minister, Prime Minister's post is a respectable post, no compromise can be made in this regard-be it Deve Gowda, Narasimha Rao or Gujaral Saheb because they are representing 90-95 crore people of the country. Sontosh Mohanji, if either you or I insult him then it is the insult of the whole nation. As long as we don't understand this basic principle. Parliamentary democracy can not survive here.

On that very day when I spoke my intentions were not to point out any individual, Deve Gowdaji is my friend. He was Prime Minister at that time. By insulting him the country cannot make progress. If you were displeased with him and that displeasure could be just also but the withdrawing of the support could be on some other occasion. I am sure that you will consider this basic thing. Don't put the entire blame on former Finance Minister that inflation has increased and export has been reduced. Shri G. Venkat Swamy has chargesheeted such Finance Minister who is quitting his office. Had Chidambaramji been thereon that Chair perhaps friends from Congress might not have levelled such charges on him but you are also involved in it to some extent only Chidambarmji is not involved in it. Chidambaramji must have had contributed 5% in it, 95% contribution is of our able friend Manmohan Singh's who have led the country on this road. Therefore, you should not say that at all happened in 10 months time. If there is any wrong then whether the country following this path knowingly or unknowingly.

Somnathji, Indrajit ji, Mulayam Singh ji, have mentioned about Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia here, but the future of the country will not be decided by discussing that who is secular or who is communal. The question of secularism or communalism arises only when we try to see the inclination of the sentiments of the people of this country. When a person groaning under scorching heat, with pain and greif, he does not see any future for himself, when he finds no pleasure for himself in the developmental process then he tried to link himself with his old identity, his old existence. Today when crores of helpless people in the country do not find their share in the economic development of the country then they try to lessen their guidance by linking themselves with caste and religion. These casteist forces and forces playing politics in the name of religion will continue to grow so long as there is illiteracy, helplessness, exploitation and man is not ready to give a respectful life to others Mulayam Singh ji has slightly discussed, those questions, also named them but they do not stretch of secularism to such an extent which may encourage fanatic forces, either of this side or the other.

Today, I am very much satisfied, very happy after hearing the speech of Somnathji. He has said one thing that today cooperation is needed, consensus is needed, we will have to solve all the problems collectively and we will have to seek cooperation of the people sitting on this side, will have to continue them that there is difference between our and their programmes. Chidambaramji have expressed his views wisely. Having one or two things, do not pass budget only to please Sushmaji. All other points of yours are correct. It may please Sushmaji or not but Advaniji must be happy, but it will equally displease Murli Manohar Joshi this is a matter of concern for us. What can we do, we are to live in this country. I would like to submit that we showed work collectively.

Just now, one of our friends has said that at the time when I was in Janta Party, I took the help of the Bhartiya Janta Party but at that time political scenario was full of tepsyturvy and India was heading towards dictatorship. Being the member of the Congress working Committee I had lived in solitary confinement upto 18 months. At that time your leader had asked if I was ready for agreement then I had told him that there can be no compromise between dictatorship and democracy. At that time also, I had categorically told him that today only issue is to save the democracy. Each of the countries of the third world in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who got freedom used democracy but after some time the democratic set up there, faded away. The democracy was alive only in India and the whole world alongwith, the political critics said that the democracy was over in India.

At that time. people like us, like Atal Bihari Vajpayee, our friend Bommai Murli Manohar Joshi and Ram Vilas Paswan needed to take everybody along with us. It was need of the hour.

I have never said that by getting close to BJP I would develop a liking for its ideology. We say it with pride that the honour our then External Affairs Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji had earned as a secular politician, might have been earned by a few persons. If we work collectively then all the problems can be solved. We do not want to work collectively. At least Atalji is a witness to it.

The issue of Babri Masjid, in the name of which the Bhartiya Janta Party is cursed, was likely to be solved. Mulayam singh ji knows about it. Had our Government been there for one or one and a half months more then this issue could not have come up? Who did not let this issue be solved? Mulayam Singh should at least convey this thing to the person responsible for it. I cannot say, since I have made a promise that whatever I have come to know as a Prime Minister would not disclose but you are free. You can say so. Had we shown some patience and had the government not been toppled over on that day then the issue of secularism could not have cropped up in this way.

Let us think again. Let us learn something from the past mistakes. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are weaknesses in us but I would like to say one thing in the last. I would

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

like to conclude with one couplet of Raghupati Sahai Firaq, which I had read while I was in jail.

'Is Khandhar Mein Kutch Diye Hain Tute Huye
Inhi Se Kam Chaalao Badi Udas Hai Rat.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Before I call one from the Congress and the Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister, I would like to say that I have six more names with me. The Members may please be very brief. They may take five to seven minutes each.

Shri Chitta Basu will speak now. As you are on the Panel of Chairmen, you should set an example.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by the Prime Minister today morning. To begin with, I want to reiterate our assessment of the composition of the House. The composition of the House does not in any way prove that any political party, or a combination of parties, or a political formation at the present stage can claim a majority. This composition is because of the people's mandate that the era of single-party Government, or a single-party combination Government has ended. That has led to the emergence of the United Front.

The United Front has been ruling this country for the last ten months. While I congratulate the Prime Minister, I want to remind him that the pledge of the United Front to the countrymen was that it will try and make all efforts to preserve the secular nature of the country. It also gave a pledge to the people that it will promote, strengthen and consolidate the forces of political federalism. It also gave a pledge to the people to ensure a higher standard of living, better quality of life through faster economic growth and self-reliant economy. It also gave a pledge to the people that it would enhance the level of social justice and ensure proper distribution of that justice.

Sir, further it has also given a pledge to the people that it will give the people a representative, responsible and responsive Government. I remind the Prime Minister to see to it that all those pledges are fulfilled to the maximum possible extent. I also urge upon the Prime Minister to take note of the feelings expressed in this House not only today but also on earlier occasions.

10.36 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sir, I have no hesitation in making it clear that the Prime Minister should take note of the dissention voices of this side of the House about the Economic Policy pursued by the earlier Government. Our esteemed leader, Shri Chandra Shekhar, has taken this opportunity to remind the Government of the loopholes, and negative results of the so-called economic reforms pursued by them and also the earlier Government. In the interest of the common masses, the hon. Prime Minister should take note of it. Now, the hon. Prime Minister is going to pursue the policy of liberalisation. It means privatisation or globalisation or marketisation. I think he will be able to fulfil the promises that were made to the countrymen. He should take into account the feelings of this House which is broadly represented by the working masses of our country.

Sir, I also join with my esteemed friend, Shri Chidambaram, in saying that there are some definite and immediate tasks to be fulfilled by the Government. While supporting his four or five-point programme, I also want to include one or two items more in his programme. I would urge upon him that he should not only take up forthwith the Eighty-first Constitution (Amendment) Bill which provides for reservation in the Lok Sabha and Assemblies for women but also other legislative measures which includes passage of the Agricultural Workers' Bill, the Lokpal Bill, and adoption of comprehensive electoral measures. It should also include strong measures to combat corruption in the country. Unless we eliminate corruption at the higher level, we cannot expect people to live in the country on the basis of our sacrifice and suffering. He is our old friend and an esteemed friend. I would request him once more that these voices should also be taken into account and the pledges given to the people should be fulfilled without any further delay. Subsequently I also remind him about the CMP. The United Front, in the light of these objectives, has given a charter, and agenda for the Government funded on the pillars of unity, secularism, stability, development and distributive justice. These pledges are to be fulfilled to the maximum extent.

Sir, I take this opportunity to put on record that my Party is consistently opposed to the communal forces, particularly, the BJP. whose approach is towards division, separatism and disintegration of this nation.

Sir, the approach of the BJP to the Indian polity is not in the true spirit of Indianness. The Indianness means, composite nature of culture, multiple character of our country. Pluralism is the basic approach to Indianness. Their approach to Indian polity is violative of the basic tradition and heritages, This is also to be combatted politically and ideologically.

Then, I also want to say to the Congresss, we fundamentally differ from their policies, programmes and ideology. There should not be any misunderstanding on that. There are differences on the question of economic programme and policy and on the question of ideology. But those do not stand in the way of having some kind of United Front against the forces of communalism and against the forces of reactionaries, against the forces of feudalism and against those forces that stand in the way of the progress of the nation. Therefore, Sir, we still feel that the letter from the Congress-I President on the 30th March was an unfortunate affair. I hope, this crisis which was precipitated has been blown over due to the generous cooperation of all secular sections of the House. This provides the guarantee of ultimate victory of secularism in this country.

My last request to the Prime Minister is this. Your foreign policy has received the support of the nation as a whole, of all the progressive nations. Your doctrine has opened a new possibility for India becoming greater among the comity of nations. While you have brought about fundamental changes in India's foreign relations, I would implore upon you that your experience will also prompt you to bring about some changes in the economic policies also. These economic policies should be so shaped as to relieve the sufferings and burden of the working class, the peasantry, the toiling masses of our country. These have been imposed on them by the wrong and faulty policies followed over the last four decades. I think, you will take correct lessons from this and reform not only the foreign policy but also reform the economic internal policy, including the economic policies of our country.

I once again place my support to this Government with the expectation that this Government will fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people by pursuing the policies as envisioned in the Common Minimum Programme.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : Thank you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for the opportunity given to me to express our views on the Motion of Confidence.

On behalf of my Party, RSP, I rise to extend my support the Motion of Confidence moved by the hon. Prime Minister, Shri I.K. Gujral. I support the Motion because I support the secular democracy. I support the Motion because I do have the highest regard for the unusual complex mandate the people have given in the last general elections. That was the compulsion. The mandate of the people was not in favour of one party rule in the country but the mandate of the people was to form a coalition government, was to form a secular government, on the basis of social justice and economic progress.

Sir, the regional parties and the small parties along with the other central parties were united to form a Government and the task before the United Front was to uphold the secularism, was to establish federalism, to bring about cleanliness at the top of the administration and to supply basic needs of the common people.

This was the area of agreement; this was the area of understanding, on the basis of which the United Front Government was installed at the Centre at that time. This was the compulsion why we supported the United Front Government. But the same compulsion, of the same nature, is still prevailing upon the life of the nation, so I support the Motion of Confidence moved by the hon. Prime Minister.

During the last twenty-one days, in our national life we have seen a catastrophe in the first act of the drama within ten months. That catastrophe is nothing but the defeat of the Deve Gowda Government in the Vote of Confidence on 11th April. The defeat of the Deve Gowda Government in the Vote of Confidence on 11th April is due to the fact that history does not travel in a straight line. It is history which travels in a zig-zag course and it is the historical truth that a man falls in the deep dark when he wanders off from the mainstream or from the straight path.

I have a very nice poetry not from Ghalib or from any Poet but from Dante. With your kind permission, I will quote only four lines from Dante.

> "During midway along the journey of our life, I woke to find myself in a deep dark for I had wandered off from the straight path."

This is a quote from Dante. Some of my colleagues and friends in this House, I think, wandered off from the straight path of their commitment. That is the reason of the defeat of the Deve Gowda Government in the Vote of Confidence on 11th April.

I remember very well what our hon. friend Shri Chidambaram said the other day that there is no full stop in history. History is a continuous process and as a cooperative process of history we got this new Government, headed by Shri I.K. Gujral, which is carrying on the same commitment to the people, the same commitment to secularism and the same commitment to federalism. That is what collective federalism is and that is why I extend my support to the motion moved by Shri I.K. Gujral.

I have the agony in myself, I have the anxiety and I have the tension in me when I go through a very brilliant book on the politics of violence. This is a book on the politics of violence from 'Ayodhya to Barampada at Bandra station in Mumbai'. This book has been edited by three eminent writers. What does this book contain? I have collected it from the Library of this Parliament. This book is an authenticated book and this commands that there is a rise of Hindu Talibanisation in Indian politics. Vandalism from Ayodhya, starting from demolition of mosque and ending into the massacre at Barampada in Mumbai. All these things have proven the fact that there is a rise in the growth of Hindu Talibanisation which pollutes the Indian culture and politics today.

Sir, we are all acquainted with the phenomenon of Talibanisation. Talibans have seized the power in Afghanistan. We have seen their role, we have seen the horrors and the bloodshed created by the Talibans

[Shri Pramothes Mukherjee]

in Afghanistan. Today, there is a growth, there is a development of the Hindu Talibanisation in our Indian politics. I consider that this country, this democracy, this secularism cannot be handed over to the Hindu Talibans of Indian society. Therefore, I support the motion, moved by our hon. Prime Minister, Shri I.K. Gujral, in defence of secularism and in defence of democracy.

Sir, one thing has been expressed by our hon. friend Shri P. Chidambaram and that is that we are living in an age of cooperative federalism. Sir, he is the champion of the constitutional history of Great Britain.

You are well-acquainted with the concept of classical federalism of the Great Britain. But that concept of classical federalism has gone away. Today, we have already reached the days of cooperative federalism. What does cooperative federalism mean? If we see Indonesia, Malaysia or other countries of the world, then everybody can see that the cooperative federalism is the accepted Constitution today. We have voted for this cooperative federalism. That is the only fact that cooperative federalism is the solution to many inheren problems of our Indian politics. There are many problems. There are centripetal forces. There are centrifugal forces in our country. Who will combine all these centripetal and centrifugal forces? The combination of the centripetal and centrifugal forces if the demand of the day and only the cooperative federalism can solve this problem. It can combine the tendency to strengthen the State as well as the Centre. That is why, this United Front Government is entirely committed to uphold the spirit and principle of cooperative federalism So, Sir, I extend my support to this Government.

Sir, with your permission, I would like to say one thing more. Our hon. Prime Minister is popularly known as a famous diplomat and famous External Affairs Minister. I am well-acquainted with him with all these subjects and topics of foreign affairs. Our hon. Leader of the Opposition is the Chairman of the Standing Committee on External Affairs. We are all acquainted with all those facts.

Sir, people's memory is proverbially short. We forget all the things. We have already forgotten the glorious past of our Indian policy of non-alignment. We have already forgotten the glorious past, the glorious heritage of Nehru Naser Tito. We have forgotten those days. We have forgotten this principle as the entire country, during the last 40 years, has been subservient. The coutry has been made subservient during the last 14 or 20 years to the dictates of Euro-America Imperialism. It has been ubservient to the threats of Euro-American imperialism. oday, the whole world turned into a unipolar world nder the threat of Euro-American imperialism. After the disintegration of Soviet Russia into different States, after the disintegration of socialist States in Eastern Europe, we see that the whole world has been converted into a unipolar world and in this unipolar world we still see that many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are still looking forward to the foreign policy of India today. So, many things are entirely dependent on the successful implementation of the policy of non-alignment of India.

I am grateful to our Prime Minister that he is the master of this subject and he has already set the ball in motion. The ball is quite set in motion. That is, India is now regaining its lost pride. India is now regaining its lost prestige as the leader of the Non-Alignment Movement.

I will place my request to the hon. Prime Minister that he should exert all his faculties and all his scholastic experiences to develop, to enhance the prestige of India as the leader of the Non-Alignment Movement.

The country has suffered much. During the last three weeks, extreme suffering has been inflicted on the country, due to petrol pumps strike, truckers' strike and other strikes, prices have gone up. The Sensex has fallen down. Our economic life is in stagnation. So, no loss is desirable. I would appeal to the Prime Minister and to this Government to look into all these things and try to develop the country as the leader of the Non-Alignment Movement.

With all these words, I extend my support to the Motion of Confidence.

[Translation]

DR. ARVIND SHARMA (Sonepat) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the confidence motion. Sir, the nation has been saved from going for another mid-term poll by the wisdom shown by the Front leaders, the leaders of the Congress and Kesriji. We had thought that this country would have to bear the burden of 2-3 thousand crores but Shri G. Venkat Swamyji has told that actually this burden would have been to the tune of 5 thousand crore of rupees. Today the country does not need elections. Today the country needs social justice, potable water, power, clothes, food and houses etc. There is a need to get the farmer his rights. Today the grain markets of Haryana are empty. There is a need to get the farmers a support price of rupees 650 for wheat.

Secondly, today the country is proud of the fact that it has got the Prime Minister like Shri Gujral not only he but his family members also took part in freedom struggle. You know that a person in whom patriotic feelings were developed at the age of 10-11 can undoubtedly take the country to the newer heights as the Prime Minister of the country. We hope that our hon. Prime Minister would certainly do so. We expect from the person who knows the value of freedom, who knows what sacrifices were made for freedom, that the counrty would make progress under his Prime Ministership. I would like to congratulate the wisdom of Shri Chandrababu Naidu, who has shown that a Prime Minister is not merely a Prime Minister of the North, the South, the East and the West but of the entire nation. Our leaders have shown great wisdom.

Thirdly, I would like to submit that if all the parties continue to do leg pulling then how this country would make progress? Today, there is a need to think about the country. It is the age of coalition governments. There is a reason of it and as Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji had said last time that the regional parties more actively taking part in the politics. The one who associates himself with the people would come forward.

Who address to people's problems, will come nearer to public. That is why regional parties are close to the people. They take care of their day to day problems. The coming time will be of coalition Governments. So we need to ponder today. We should not ponder today how the coalition Governments are brought down but to ponder has to run these coalition Governments?

I am undoubtedly an independent candidate but I also have my own thinking. My thinking is that of Haryana. You tell me how the Government administration would be carried out if such type of statements are made? I would give you a small example. I went to an office when Deve Gowdaji was heading the Government. Such a statement come that nobody wanted to work in office.

Everybody used to say that nobody know when this Government would fall down. So, we will have to prevent such things through mutual dialogue. I on my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues will appeal to those who are supporting the Government that it is good to talk of Gandhism, Lohiaji and Ambedkarji but we should follow their ideals. Every other speaker in this House has mentioned about Gandhiji's ideals. But we should follow his ideals too. If there is a quarrel between two brothers, Sometimes there is difference of opinion too, views are exchanged and problems are sorted out by sitting together. Similarly, we need to have discussions on the problems facing the country. If Gandhiji had been angry with anybody, he did not express his displeasure like this. He would leave eating, talking. Through these things manners he used to realise one's mistake.

19.00 hrs.

Today need of the hour is to save the country rising above everything. The need is to save the country rising above their political interests. If an atmosphere of uncertainly is created in the country, it does not harm us, it does not harm our party, it does not harm any leader either, if anybody is harmed, it is the country which is caused harm. Today the need of the hour is that we march forward together and it is for this reason that all of us have supported hon'ble Prime Minister, Gujralji. Today the need is to support him to get the country march forward.

I will concluded my speech after making one more point. I want to draw your attention towards the problems of the North-East. Government should recognise this problem as a national problem. Today there is a coalition Government of the HVP and the BJP in Haryana. similarly there is a coalition Government of the BJP and the Akali in Punjab. Despite that they are not worried to remove the problems of the SYL canal in Haryana, which is a boon for the farmers. They are worried about how to form Government at the Centre. They are not worried about solving problems of the people.

I, on my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues, support the confidence motion and Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI SURENDER SINGH (Bhiwani) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion of confidence put before the House by the Prime Minister.

Sir, this is the third confidence motion put before the House by the United Front in the last ten months. What's the reason for this? All the Political Parties are the same and all the constituents of United Front are also the same. A feeling of instability and insecurity has arisen in the people of the country. Keeping in view the previling situations, the President has asked the new Government to seek the confidence of the House. There is a big difference between the discussions held on confidence motion on 11th and the discussion being held today. The United Front is the same but earlier Shri Deve Gowda was the Prime Minister and now Gujral Sahab is the Prime Minister. I know Gujral Sahab for quite a long time.

[English]

Undispatedly, he is a integrated personality with secular image.

[Translation]

He is an old congressman too. He has performed different tasks in different parts and societies of the country. But all the speeches being delivered today are entirely different from the earlier speeches. Last time when United Front attacked the Congress from all sides its members maintained silence like a criminal in the court. Why a feeling of instability and insecurity her arisen in the country? It is because when Shri Deve Gowda faced confidence motion in this House for the first time then Shri Narsimha Rao the leader of Congress in this House, praised the Prime Minister and said that they will continue. to extend their unconditional support for five years. But today, the situation is different, the five years time has come in ten months. Today in the morning Shri Sharad Pawar has also expressed the same view/feelings. It was the same speech that they will continue to extend their support for five years. Since

[Shri Surender Singh]

the Government do not have five years time at disposal then to whom Congress will extend support for five years? If you go through the speech of Shri Venkat Swamy, which was just like a trailor, you will find that those five years will never come and I would like to tell Gujral Sahab that he doesn't have any threat from us but from the Congress Party.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am a veteran Congressman. I had born in Congress and you people don't know them to the extent I know them. The Congress Party can't live without power. If you go through the history of the Indian democracy or the Parliamentary system then you will find that Congress has never been between. Either they were in opposition or they were in power. Why? In 1977, a front by the name of Janata Party was formed against Congress for the first time and Janata Party formed the Government. The Congress Party alone sat in the opposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, if you recall in 1989 again a United Front was formed in the leadership of V.P. Singh. At that time all these people including Congress Party was present in this House. Now, why the BJP is so strong. Since morning, all members are delivering speeches targeting the BJP. It is so because during 1977 all the opposition parties which used to see Congress as a rival party are now seeing that BJP will form the next Government. Today every members whether he belongs to Congress or Front is delivering his speech assuming Shri Vajpayee as the Prime Minister. I remember it very well, on the other day Rajesh Pilot was saying that the Congress is benevolent, liberal and secular. In 1982 they helped A.G.P. They signed the Longowal accord.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you belong to Haryana. You know, what had happened in 1982. I was a Congress M.L.A. then. In 1982, out of 90, 36 MLAs of our party won the elections and Governor Shri Tapse had called Chaudhry Devilal to take oath of office but I don't know what transpired in the night, the next day Shri Bhajan Lal took the oath of office. Our friends are very soft and gentle. On that day when Shri Deve Gowda was delivering his speech, all these people were very happy. But today, they have not extend the support happily. Many young members have come in this House for the first time. They conveyed their feelings to the leadership that if today support is withdrawn then in case of elections, Congress will fair badly. I have been in Congress and I know them better. I know why these people were withdrawing the support extended to Shri Chandra Shekharji. Why they did so? They get a slogan when they are out of power, they like a particular word 'feed back'. The 'feed back' is that Mr. Gowdaji's Government has collapsed and in case of elections, Congress will have majority. Sir, this time if this is their feedback, then they are mistaken. If election are held this time then, a few persons will be elected to the House by mistake. Shri Sharad Pawar ji was saying that they supported them with a very clear heart ...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, I have to make one more susmission that if the Prime Ministers come for such a short spare then the number of former Prime Ministers in the country will increase then it will also cause traffic problems for common people in New Delhi. Therefore, I request to make a separate township for the former Prime Minister and for this purpose, Bhandari would be the ideal choice...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your suggestion is very good but please conclude.

SHRI SURENDRA SINGH : He has also got constructed so many huts there. The former Prime Minister have to gather on so many occasions, they have to go to the Rajghat, the President House and at times to the Centre Hall. Therefore, they should be provided the best luxury vehicle and they should level together so that common people do not have to face frequent Traffic markjams and they would also feel that the dignitares who served the nation are going together.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your suggestion is very good but please conclude.

SHRI SURENDRA SINGH : I would make a request to Shri Gujral ji that when Shri Chandra Shekhar had resigned from the post of the Prime Minister, I am not sure whether not it is true somebody had asked him that how he felt after resigning from the post of Prime Minister then, he had given a very apt reply. He said that after climbing over the Everest, you dont settle down there permanently. I conquered the peak and climbed down. Same is the case of Deve Gowda ji I would say that in the given circumstances there cannot be a better personality and there can be any danger to him, it can be from his friends only.

I would say that Shri Deve Gowda ji who was pro farmer and pro agriculturist did a great injustice in the fixation of the price of wheat he fixed the price of wheat at Rs. 415/- per quintal and Rs. 60 as bonus. If we import wheat at the rate of Rs. 750/- per quintal then, why donot we purchase wheat @ Rs. 650/- per quintal from our farmers.

I am sure that Shri Gujral ji would take this fact into account and he would also get full support from the treasvry benches. With these words, I oppose this motion.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party, Indian Union Muslim League, I stand to support the Motion of Confidence moved by hon. Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujaral. It is a proud privilege and pleasure to welcome Shri Inder Kumar Gujral as the Prime Minister of this country in this House.

Due to paucity of time, I do not want to take much of the valuable time of the House. I will confine my points only to certain issues. The Prime Minister has a stupendous task. The task contains in giving a healing touch to the exacerbated polity in the country. He has to make national confidence building that should be taken to the masses of this country. The people have been looking up to him with all the hopes and have high expectations after Shri Inder Kumar Gujral has taken over the Prime Ministership of this country.

This country needs a stable Government. This is the fourth Motion of Confidence within the last ten months which shows that it is a national imperative that we must have the stability of the Government in the country. Only if there is political stability, we can have stabilisation in economic side. If there is a stabilisation in the economic front, only then, will we have the key to improve the conditions of millions of our people and even to implement the national priorities by eradicating poverty from this country.

It is a coalition Government. The coalition Governments started, if I rememer correctly, in sixties from Kerala. Then, they continued in seventies in West Bengal. It was during the time of the late lamented great Jawaharlal Nehru that the first coalition Government had been formed in Kerala under the Chief Ministership of Shri Pattam Thanu Pillai, PSP with the Congress under Shri Shankar.

The Congress and the P.S.P. formed that Government where the Speaker was from the Muslim League. The Muslim League had played the role of a stabilising factor. In a coalition, there must be mutual trust and understanding. Then, there must be a programme. With that programme, they should go ahead with consensus and there should also be a leader who will be able to take all the parties and the partners together. When negotiations were going on in the last few days, some people had been hoping that the Congress and the United Front would not come together. But fortunately for this country and fortunately for those millions of people of this country who would like to have a secular and stable Government at the Centre, their hopes have been dashed and frustrated by the fact that the Congress and the United Front came closer and closer.

Sir, past is past. I would like to urge the hon. Prime Minister to start from here onwards with a clean slate, with more cohesion as well as consultation and compromises among ourselves, that is, the United Front and the Congress Party. Then only will this country have a stable and secular Government. That is what the people are expecting from us.

My learned friend Shrimati Sushma Swaraj said that the people would vote for them to form the Government. If the Congress Party and other secular parties join together and go to the people, the mandate will be only in favour of the secular forces of this country and Shrimati Sushma Swaraj's thinking will only remain as a wishful thinking. It cannot come true in this country, because the overwhelming majority of the people of this country want a secular Government at the Centre.

Sir, I will take only a few minutes to elucidate some of the points that I wish to make. We now have a Prime Minister who is a visionary, who has a national vision. With his national vision, he will definitely deliver the goods to the country. He was a successful Minister of Information and Broadcasting. He also worked as a successful Minister of External Affairs. So, why should the country not hope to have a successful Prime Minister also in Shri I.K. Gujral? He will be a successful Prime Minister also.

Sir, Shri I.K. Gujral always identified the aspirations of the minorities in this country. I would like to make one or two points with respect to some of the grievances of the largest minorities of this country, that is, the Muslims. All our leaders, including the Prime Minister. when he was the External Affairs Minister, go and tell the Comity of Nations, the international community that India is proud to have the second largest Islamic population in the world. But this second largest Islamic population in the world which comprises about 14 per cent of the population of our country, are lacking the basic facilities of education. They do not have facilities of education and they do not have jobs. I would say that the largest minorities in this country, as a backward class, deserve adequate representation in the Government. Now, the representation is abysmally poor. Even when those qualified youngsters of this backward Muslim community of this country knock at the door for some appointment, they meet with disappointment in this country This is the real situation. I would like Shri Gujral to take up this matter very seriously and do the needful.

Sir, as a matter of fact, Shri Gujral was the architect of the 15-Point Programme of Shrimati Indira Gandhi for the upliftment of the minorities in this country. At the Prime Minister of this country, he will be in a better position to implement that 15-Point Programme for the well-being of the minorities. Shri Gujral is the person who has really restored India's image in the international community.

After the demolition of Babri Masjid by the fascist forces here, India's name has been sullied in the international community. That image was retrieved because of the Gujral Doctrine. What is the basis of the Gujral Doctrine? It advocates friendship with all the countries. That is the best way in the realm of the foreign affairs. That is the path breaking doctrine in the realm of foreign affairs. That Gujral Doctrine has helped India to have the best of an image in the comity of nations. Such a man is now at the helm of affairs in this country. We wish him and his Government all success. Without

[Shri E. Ahamed]

fear of contradiction I would say that the government under Shri Gujral will be the best secular Government which will give stability to this country to which millions of Indians are looking at.

Sir, I support this Government and I wish them all success for the future of this country.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha) : Sir, on behalf of the Kerala Congress Party I would like to congratulate the new Prime Minister. India had a glorious past and I am sure that India will have a beautiful future. However, it is said that yesterday is history, tomorrow is mystery and today is a gift. That is why they call it 'the present'. I am sure this gift has come into the hands of Shri I.K. Gujral now. However, I do feel that this gift—'the present'—is not as sweet as it may seem to be. It is thorny, it is ambiguous, it is in diversities and it has got so many problems.

Sir, the problems of India are very many and we have to face them together. That is the only way in which the solution can be found to these problems. The poverty, the illiteracy, the communalism, the problems of workers, the problems of farmers, the *Dalits* and the problems which we are facing by terrorists, are the problems which have to be tackled and India has to be made strong at this juncture.

19.27 hrs.

[SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA *in the Chair*]

Sir, we have to build our infrastructure and we have to go a long way. By building our infrastructure only, we can think of progress, whatever the economic policy we adhered to. I would think that we have to be optimistic and in my opinion the Prime Minister is an optimistic person. But optimism, of course, may also lead to difficulties. It is said that the perpetual optimism is a force multiplier. If it is found to be force multiplier, let this force multiplier be used in the right direction, so that India can be made strong, India can be made more united and there can be more federalism which is the order of the day which has been dumped off for quite a number of years and which could be made a reality.

A strong India cannot be made by strong persons sitting in Delhi alone. Strong in the sense by number alone we may not be able to succeed in the process of bringing about a strong India. A strong India and the strong Centre can be made only by satisfying the States. That is what we are now at and I think this is a motto which has been enunciated years back. I am happy that I belong to a party which was formed in 1964 and the Kerala Congress Party at that time spelt out their motto. That motto was that if we want to build a strong India, we have to satisfy the States.

I think, this is the order of the day. We have regional parties with national outlook and, of course, there are national parties. These national parties should work along with regional parties and that is the only way to fulfil the aspirations of the people, who have given the mandate in the last election held about a year ago. The result of the last election was that various political parties have come, various interests have come, and those who fought against each other will have to come together here for the purpose of fulfiling some specific and very important aims that they have put forward. I think, this is going to be the rule of the day and this rule is going to be in India in future also.

This is not a very new thing. This has been practised in so many other countries. We have the examples of Austria, we have the example of Germany where parties fight against each other in the elections, but they declare that after the elections they would come together. We have the examples of the biggest parties also coming together and forming the Government. We find that the experiment of the United Front, which we are also supporting, will bring forth proper results and will lead India to a very bright future.

[Translation]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman Sir, I fully support the confidence motion presented by the Government and particularly, Muslims have great expectations from a person of spotless character who has been made Prime Minister because he is a man of clean ideas and he will solve their issues. I was just listening to Shri Venkatswamy's speech. He is a good friend of mine and resides in my city. I felt how hapless he has become during the last ten months and did not utter a single word regarding atrocities being committed on us for the last fifty years. I have the same complaint to make to the congress party and would like to ask as to what steps did it take during the last fifty years for injustice committed to us? I would also like to bring it to the notice of Shri Gujaral that Gujaral committee constituted during Indira Gandhi's regime regarding Urdu is gathering dust. This should be made public and that should be implemented. Attention should also be paid towards direction of thousands of innocent Muslims under TADA for the last four years. We are living in a democratic country, therefore if you want to file suits against them, it can be done under proper and concerned laws. It should not be that they should face the court and also detained in the jails. It should also be seen that at the time of independence, the number of Muslims in Government services was 30 per cent of the total employees which has come down to one per cent at present. What are the reasons in this regard and why are they being subjected to partiality and discrimination? Why are hurdles being created for this schools and colleges? A case in this regard has been filed in Supreme Court. A bench consisting of 11 judges are discussing the Article 31A but unfortunately the case is still pending in the court. The Kaveri issue is likely to be taken up and it is being ensured that the number of judges is increased and perhaps then something can be done in this regard. I would like the Government to bring a resolution in the House and tell the House what are the provisions and facilities for the minorities of the country i.e. Muslims in Article 31A? That should be applanded on reasons otherwise, if something is not done in this way, where would Muslims of the country go? No body pays needs to our requests. How long should we suffer the injustices meted to us. Enough is enough. A steering Committee was constituted at that time. National Front has stood victorious on Muslim votes and has always compelled us to vote for it in the name of secularism and scaring us of BJP but nothing of such sort will happen again. You will have to solve our genuine and real issues/ problems. Whenever any educational institute is set up by us today, the Government asks for fifty percent seats for it. We are ready to shed 75 per cent seats but is the Government ready to reserve 25 per cent seats for us in Government colleges? I know that it is not possible for the Government because the policy adopted there is different. If we set up any college with our toil and hard earned money, the Government wants to have control on that too. Tell us about this policy and the reasons for pendency of the case in Supreme Court. No one wants to come forward in this regard. We go to every minister and tell them about our problems in regard to educational institutions but we are not paid due attention. The Government thinks that we are playing politks but it is not politics and the result of it is likely to come. These things will not do. We want our right to be provided to us in accordance with the percentage of population.

Gujral Sahab, you have just arrived. I had urged before you come for the implementation of the recommendations of Gujaral Committee Constituted during Indira Gandhi's regime. Though Minority Commission has been formed but we are not benefited by it. You had promised to provide Rs. 500 crore but nothing has been done so far. I think, you have adopted a policy of promising a lot and doing nothing. I want that a proper policy should be formulated for us. There is not a single Muslim in your steering committee. When a committee can be constituted for Congress and United Front why can it not be constituted for us...*(Interruptions)*. It Farookh Abdullah is there in steering committee, he represents Kashmir. Why do you want to appease us by such talks; many muslims are watching it all on T.V. What impact such replies will cast on their minds? I would like you to do something regarding Urdu. You raised only one issue in your steering committee and that was related to Babri Mosque but that too was side tracked. What policy was adopted by Shri Narasimha Rao according to which the mosque was demolished and the temple was also built. Why do you not reconstruct the mosque there and say that the decision, whatsoever would be accepted. But since your mind was not clear, they did so.

I would like you to announce a proper and clear policy for us and tell, what you want to do for us and if you do not want to do anything and just want to please us with sugarcoated words, we shall not extend our support to you for a long time. Take it for granted that we cannot be cheated any more. Once Iqbal said :

"Jis khot se insan ko mayassar na ho roti
Us khet ke har gosh-e-gandum ko mita do."

This will come before you.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN (Dumka) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, today, vote of confidence is being discussed in the House and many points have been raised during discussion. The United Front has been formed to run the country. Many points are discussed here time to time. I want to raise here the issue of small States. Whenever the issue of small states is raised here, the Members of Parliament of all the National Parties favour the recognition of the principle of small States and want that their problems should be discussed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it did not happen so. Nobody talked about small States so far. The points discussed so far were forming and running the Government with their support or saving the office of Prime Ministership. So far as the issue of small States is concerned, the entire House is aware of the fact that the previous Government granted us Jharkhand Autonomous Council. It was Janata Dal Government even before and it is at present and Janata Dal has its United Government in Bihar also but the Chief Minister of Bihar did not provide either any right or penny so far to the Jharkhand Autonomous Council.

Sir, we are tribals, Dalits, Harijans and backward people and the upliftment of such backward and Dalit people with the economic help of Government of India as well as the World Bank but their upliftment does not take place. The fund meant for this purpose is misappropriated. We, representatives of the people have not been made members of these committees. We have not been involved in the committees which decide as to how to spend the funds received from the World bank on the development of our areas or plateau. I had requested that MPs and MLAs — the representative of the area should be made member, no matter whether he belongs to BJP or any other party but it is not happening so. We are aggrieved of it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you must be aware of the developments taking place in Bihar. Here, I would like to highlight the problems of tribals. The previous Government solved the problems of Adivasis but riots

[Shri Shibu Soren]

took place and their crops were set on fire as a result of which people left their houses and settled at other places. Even today they are wandering here and there. Assam Government is also not providing them basic necessity like fooding and clothing. The entire country bear witness to the treatment which Jharkhand area is receiving. We cannot even think of any pleasure and luxury, when we are not getting food and clothes. This is the problem of tribals, harijans, backward classes and dalits of the entire country. We do not know as to when our problems will be solved and we will live happily. They talk very nicely in the House but everybody knows what they say and what they do. They have only one work to do — formation of Government and being instrumental in its fall. They have only one point programme just to save their office. But it is not in anybody's hands that the Government remains in power and it also runs smoothly. It is a matter of constitution but the attention will have to be paid on the genuine problems.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Deve Gowda the Hon. Prime Minister of the previous Government had announced the formation of Uttarakhand but nothing has been done in this regard. Nobody is raising the issue of Uttarakhand and demanding its formation. Why such announcements are made earlier and ignored after some times? We are poor people and not raising the issue of Jharkhand for business purposes. Our ex-Prime Minister Shri Chandrashekhar is sitting here. He said to get right first. We said alright, let us have rights first but this did not happen. Today, everyone talks about Tribals, minorities and Dalits but nothing is done for their welfare. They are made victims of atrocities everywhere. There is no law and order. Nobody talks of rules and regulations for them. Actions are being taken everywhere with a feeling of revenge. Unless, we have faith and peace in our minds, we shall not be able to make progress. How will things do if nobody believes on what we say? Today, the entire country is unhappy with your utterances and doings. The whole country is watching all that we are saying and doing.

Sir, we do not want to join the Government we do not have any hope either that we would be made a part of the Government but the facts must be adhered to and realised. I have been a Member of Parliament since 1980. We rarely get an opportunity to speak. If we speak for 5 minutes, other will consume 50 minutes; even then we satisfy ourselves. I have always been a supporter of secularism. But the BJP people, in the name of saving culture, have been destroying it. They termed our Jharkhand as Junglekhand...*(Interruptions)* termed Uttarakhand...*(Interruptions)*

They change the names. The name of our culture should not change. If the name of my father is changed, I cannot inherit the land. Therefore the name of Jharkhand should remain only Jharkhand Autonomous Council. The hon. Prime Minister is very experienced persons. I hope that he would soon consider over problems. We should go to the people and implement these programmes and schemes. There is no law and order in Bihar. I think if I speak against the truth.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your time is over.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN : I shall not take much time. I just want to ask as to why the issue of separate States is being raised? I had sent 800 people from your district to organise a rally which was cancelled later on because there was no Government in the country at that time even then people reached there. The issue of separate State is very complicated. Why this issue has been raised? Ten Members of Parliament were elected in the name of Telangana State but when they joined Congress, the issue of separate State subsided. Therefore, we are gathering people from 12 States. Nothing should be said against the Government. What are they doing? Why this question is being raised in every state? With these words, I conclude my speech.

19.42 hrs.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Hon. Speaker, Sir, we have gathered here to give confidence to the twelfth Prime Minister of the country. Shri I.K. Gujral. About eight hours of debate has taken place today. It was a lofty debate. More or less, I think, everybody thought that Shri Gujral, who is coming as the new Prime Minister, should be given enough confidence by all of us so that he can run the Government.

19.43 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

This House consists of 292 Members who are new, out of a total of 542. These 292 members are happy today, irrespective for the irresponsible activities of the many leaders of all parties. We know this because we meet each other. We know the views of the back benchers of this side and of that side and so also of the front benchers.

At the very outset, I, on behalf of this House, should convey my heartiest gratefulness to the President of India who has given us some more life; for how many days, I do not know.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are from the North-East. know very well the part you have played in many ways. ...*(Interruptions)* I know what this gentleman has done. I do not want to share it; I cannot share it. But at the same time, I feel proud that you are from the North-East and you seen to it that we can at least draw this month's salary.

Having congratulated you, the Constitutional Head, I will not praise Shri Gujral. For, he has been praised by all. But I will support him. He started very well. He said, 'Tomorrow, I will take oath alone.' There was a midnight coup against him. All the Ministers came and took oath. He could not keep his word.

This is the message of the bad administrator. At least, for one day he should have kept his word. Then, what happened? We read in the newspapers that there was an attempt to remove our good friends, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Srikant Jena. We do not know whether it is correct or not. Shri Devendra Prasad Yadav is not here. Shri Nitish Kumar is after him to join his party. Do not take him. He may or may not join. This is not a good sign. You have to manage thirteen parties, apart from the Congress which has got 140 Members. ...*(Interruptions)* Do not take name of Shri Sitaram Kesri everytime. Shri Kesri brought back life to Congress. People in the country know that Congress is alive and not dead. You may not like the methodology.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : It is a very good compliment.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Shri Pramod Mahajan, you may not like it. Pramod means happiness and Mahajan means merchant. You may not know this Mr. Merchant. But Congress needed this process very well. In that process there is a casualty and that is Shri Deve Gowda. I had a good friendship with him. ...*(Interruptions)* Yes, he has given many things to me. But he did not keep his last word. I will not say anything in this House. In the last telephone talk that I had with him, I requested him, 'Sir, be magnanimous and do not bring in anything personal in the House'. He told me that he has prepared a 62-page speech. But there is no mention of any name. Why did he speak so much? It was not because of us, but because of the ten Chief Ministers who went to him when he was coming from his house and told, 'You have to resign'. A wounded soldier came here. He said, 'I will not resign. When I wanted to resign you said that I need not resign. When I said let me go to all of you said that you would stand like a rock with me'. Ultimately, what has happened? They have been telling that we have stabbed Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao in the back. But Shri Deve Gowda had been stabbed in the back by all these people. He is no more here.

Shri Chandra Shekhar was very very harsh to Congress. I do not blame him. He treats me like his son. Sometimes he treats me like his brother. When the son goes out of the house, he always tries to be very very critical of the father. Shri Chandra Shakhar was born and brought up in Congress. He fought with Indiraji. There was nothing wrong. But he should not try to be so rude with us. We are not that strong to face him. I requested you to be very reasonable.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have to maintain a very good relation with all the fifteen parties. There is basic change today. Shri Somnath Chatterjee has spoiled all my efforts. I came prepared to take on his party and his allies. But he did not speak a single word against our party. I do not know what has happened to him.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I want you to have some sense.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : When Congress, with 140 Members, supports this Front of 188 Members, you are secular. But when the question of sharing decision making comes, you are not secular. I will not be in the United Front if Congress is welcomed into it. We are not hankering for power.

What has happened to the former Minister of Finance? He owes and explanation to this House as to why he has not joined and also as to when he would join.

We have a lot of differences with you. But out of this group of 188, only very few capable Ministers are there and you are one of them. It is because you have gone from the Congress Party!

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He has become capable after he left the Congress Party!

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Shrimati Sushma Swaraj asked Shri Chidambaram to take care of the baby. You are a good baby sitter! Or baby in UP is with you! We have gifted it to you. Shri Vajpayee went there; being helped by Shri Advani and others, he appointed Shri Kalyan Singh as a nurse. But he refused to do that. So, why do you not become the baby sitter of Shri Chidambaram's Budget? Please try to come.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Why should I?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today in this House there is a sense of relief. But unless and otherwise this group of 15 parties learn from their mistakes, it will be very difficult. Now, we will support; but it will be very difficult to have the programmes implemented. There is this Minimum Needs Programme, MNP; we support it. Our leader himself, in this House said that the CMP is acceptable to us, not CPM! But why should I learn these things from the newspaper?

You have discussed it with Somnath Babu, you have discussed it with Shri Chitta Basu, you have discussed it with even others who are the lone Members of their parties. But this Party of 141 Members does not know about that; and we would come to know of it through the newspepers.

Shri Gujral, you also remember that when two most effective Members of my Party—Shri P R Dasmusi and Kumari Mamata Banerjee—stood up and said that they did not agree with it, I stood up and said that we agree. But before coming to this House, I asked my leader as

[Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev]

to whether it has been discussed with him. He said, "No." They want to take our help; and take the credit for it themselves. This is what the United Front is doing. Whatever they have achieved, we have got proportionate credit for that. Whatever is their fault, the responsibility is theirs!

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : A very good Congressman!

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I would not like to mention anything about the gentleman who is not present in this House. It is not the culture of the Congress to do that. But only one thing I would like to say for which I have taken the permission of Shri Chandra Shekhar. He has mentioned something.

That is the Chair where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Morarji Desai, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Charan Singh, Shri Chandra Shekhar and Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao used to sit. Was it proper for him to say 'a person is in a hurry to come' forgetting the tradition of the Chair occupied by those persons? They used to maintain a tradition of not mentioning the names of those who were not present in this House. It is not proper to mention the names of those who are not present. I have nothing against Shri Deve Gowda. He is a wounded soldier. He embraced Shri P V Narasimha Rao. It is a good thing. But he tried to blame him also. I am not telling that. The man who embraced was telling this about all the cases which were there. Then, why did he not correct them? If you are so good a favourite of Shri P V Narasimha Rao, why did he not correct the actions? What is your fault? The day the JMM case was there, we went and protested saying that the parliamentary Affairs matter cannot be the subject matter of a court.

You, Somnath Da, were present one day when we discussed it in the Speaker's Chamber. What happened? The other day, when there was a fear of that Government falling, what did your spokesman tell our ex-MP, Shrimati Krishna Sahi? It was told that by two O'clock, 80 Members were crossing to their party in the Annexe which made me to issue my whip very promptly. Have you got any Members from here? The Congress knows how to unite them. When there is diversity, we are always united. You cannot break us. Many people tried. But today, our friends from the BJP are giving us sermons that we are going here and there, trying to break. Why have you done that? You have no choice. In Hyderabad, it was Shrimati Lakshmi Parvati. In Haryana, you took Shri Bansi Lal. In Punjab, you took Akali Dal and in Assam, you tried to get the AGP. The last effort was made like " Come and join the National Democratic Front". In Lucknow, it was declared by Shri Vajpayee. In UP, again, you have got hold of Kumari Mayawati. It is very good.

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT : What is your position?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Our position is very bad. The Congress had lost power in the 1977 but it came back to power. The people of the country know it that only Congress Party can rule in this country. It has been punished by the people from time to time, but it is returned to power again by those very people. We would see how many people, how many votes are cast in our favour in the next election. Now, the parties which have got 10 percent, 18 percent votes, are ruling the country and the congress, after having got 28 percent votes has been asking them to run the Government. We do punish them from time to time but we would not meet the same fate like you.

[English]

The other day, my good friend, Shri Pramod Mahajan made a very good speech. It was an election speech. Even my wife said that he was a good speaker. He always laughs. Pramodji, there is a news item in the Jalgaon edition of the *Times of India*. You asked me or our party that day and you hinted that we do not know how to do accounting. This news item is dated 18.9.95 of Jalgaon publication of the *Times of India*. Shri Amitabh Mitra has written it. What is the population of Jalgaon? It has a population of one lakh. Shri Vajpayee went there. They donated Rs. 51 lakh to your election fund. I want to know the art as to how you did that. You also took in the name of Ram Babu or Shyam Babu. I know that a bigger size brief case is going to you and a smaller one is coming to me. How did you regularise that money? You say about inspectors. We could to me. How did you regularise that money? You say about inspectors. We could not manage income Tax. We do not want to manage. What happened? Kumari Uma Bharati is not present. She was saying something. When you took money from village to village, I had seen in my constituency, every villager going with a brick on their head saying *Hai Ram, Hai Ram...(Interruptions)* Come into the office of the BJP headquarters. Shri Chidambaram, I expect that you will very soon take over Finance. I want you to enquire about it One Shri Gupta gave a notice about Rs. 420 crore raised. Shri Vajpayee and others went to Shri V.P. Singh saying that if he wants their support, he should transfer that income-tax officer and withdraw that report. Then, Shri V.P. Singh asked, "If money has come in the name of God, then what have you done?" They had said, "We took all the money in our hands, we threw it up and told God that he may take whatever he needs and we will take the balance as our election fund." ...*(Interruptions)* That is what you have done...*(Interruptions)*

20.00 hrs.

Shri Chidambaram, when you served the notice, you said, "Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev, I cannot do anything before 31st March." I appreciate it. I do not feel unhappy with you. There is a Minister of Finance who stood like a rock. You tell me, "Do this thing and that thing." I will help you. I do not know whether you will come back and help me. That is the mandate. I want you to come back...*(Interruptions)* These are the things which are happening. I do not want to give a long speech, Mr. Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER : You can give.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : That day, somebody said, "We have ruled the country for 10 months which is better than 45 years of the Congress rule." What is that 'rule' in the country? If you go to a hospital in Bihar, you have to take a paper and a pencil for getting a prescription written. Nothing is available there. Which Government is ruling over there? It is the Janata Dal Government. If you go to Andhra Pradesh, you will find that when a police wagon goes to a petrol pump, no credit slip is valid. The owner of the petrol pump would say, "Give money and take fuel." The Chief Minister of that State is a leader of the United Front. If you go to Assam, the teachers are not getting their salary for the last one or two years. The money is diverted to the development fund. Who has created such a situation? It is the 'superb' rule of this party for 10 months. If we blame them for that, they will say that the Congress has created it.

I hope Shri Gujral works as a Prime Minister for five years. He was also a diplomat. He had run this country efficiently. I hope that he would also run it efficiently. Yesterday, he spoke to the members of the Confederation of Indian Industry. One industrialist came to me during the night. I asked him, "How was the meeting?" He enquired, "Is there anybody near about you?" I said, "No. You can tell me." He told me that he understood the Prime Minister's speech after ten months. Why is it so? There is a cartoon in a newspaper from Calcutta about a politician who was sleeping. His wife came and enquired, "What are you doing here? You go immediately. You can be a Prime Minister."

Let us not push around. For the last 10 days, the Congress was at the receiving end. When we did not speak on the last day, it was our magnanimity and not our weakness. We do not want to hit at a wounded man who goes out of this House. This is not the Congress culture. I could speak better that day. I could share many talks which took place. One or two were at my instance. I also do not want to blame Shri H.D. Deve Gowda. ...*(Interruptions)* While he was going out of the House, he did not behave well. That is why he said something. I hope he wants to come back.

I can speak about many things. But I want to tell Shri Gujral, "Do not use your finger when we meet. Do not do this. Do this. I shall see you. I will never do it. I am going." We want to live together. We have a beautiful Minister, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan. Sometimes he does not do anything but he satisfies all of us. ...*(Interruptions)* You have another Minister, Shri Srikant Jena, who is very amiable. And you are also very amiable. I know you since 1980. You might remember that in 1980 I was being sent by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. You were an Ambassador in USSR. You are a good host. I would not explain how and why.

But now you are the host for the 140 Members. When they go to you, kindly meet them. Please tell your Ministers that they are not your captives. Do not use them as your doormats but use them as your friends and try to solve the problems of their constituencies. Somnathji is present here. When Somnathji and Mamataji reach Dum Dum airport they do not talk to each other. Shri Chatterjee goes one way and Kumari Mamata Banerjee goes the other way.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJE : No, you are totally wrong. I have nothing against her.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Prime Minister, you have to take care of these 141 Members. I am not demanding, I am only making a request to you. Members come and tell me that they want to meet some Ministers and the Ministers were busy talking to their friends and asked them to come after half an hour. This is not fair. This I am saying not in order to pull your legs. I am submitting this in order to ensure that — at least for the next four years you are not coming here — at least for four years we could live together. I am telling you very frankly that I have done my duty for ten months very seriously. Many a time even when your Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and others were not here, I had taken over their job and now do you want me to continue doing that job without being a Minister?

I would like to submit that you may please look after the interests of our Members. They want honour and dignity. Each one of them represents ten lakh people in their constituencies. They just cannot go back to their constituencies and tell them that Sontosh Mohan Dev issued Whip and so they had to vote in the House according to the Whip of the Party but I cannot give you a Central Government job. They cannot go back to their constituencies and tell their constituents that they would not get the money under the IRDP and NREP schemes and that money would go to such areas which are represented by the Members from the United Front. They cannot say that they cannot give houses under the Indira *Awas Yojana*.

In our Report of the Standing Committee we have recommended that the Members of Parliament should be allowed to identify 50 per cent. As a Chairman of the Standing Committee I have recommended for the Employment Assurance Scheme.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Padrauna) : Sir, in accordance with the suggestion given, there are

[Shri Ram Nagina Mishra]

141 members of their Party and 180 members belong to that Party. Will these members only be allowed to speak and other Members would not be listioned to.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Now, Shri Barnala, I would like to mention about the note which the hon. Member, Shri Chandumajra has sent me. I would not like to read it out here. I would request you to prevail upon the hon. Member not to use such a language in Parliament in future. This is not fair. We have forgotten as to what has happened. Let him rebuke Congress, I would not mind that but the language should not be unparliamentary.

Lastly, Mr. Prime Minister I have got a serious complaint to make against this Government. What is happening now? There might be hundred differences between you and me, between your Party and my Party but how does one tolerate the fact that the killers of the late Indira Gandhi and General Vaidya are being honoured in this country? ...*(Interruptions)* Who is doing it? The Akalis are doing it and are being supported by the BJP. I hope that Shri Vajpayee will tell something about it. I do not know if Shri Vajpayee knows about it. As far as I know Shri Vajpayee can never appreciate such things.

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA : Sir, I would like to say something on this. Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev should understand that when people were being massacred, his Party was ruling the State. People who have been accused of such massacres were being given jobs; they have become Members of Parliament and they became Ministers in the Congress Government.

So, those who were responsible for killing thousands of people in Delhi itself owe an explanation for that.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh) : That means you are justifying such honour to be given to those killers. Are you justifying it? Are you not ashamed of it?

SARDAR SURJIT SINGH BARNALA : He owes a statement on that. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : If Shri Barnala wants to justify it, it is up to him. I do not know how the people in this country will judge him. I do not want to say much except to tell him that if he continue doing it, there will be other set of fanatics who will take recourse to such things that will not be good for the country. Do not forget that.

My last point is, questions have been asked in this House as to why did Congress choose this particular time to withdraw the support. Shri Paswan is saying : "Do not say anything." When Shri Paswan was in Opposition, while Shrimati Indira Gandhi was on tour, twice No-Confidence Motion was moved against her. At that time the Opposition did not mind to move a No-Confidence Motion against her when she was touring the world over as the Prime Minister of this country. So, timing is timing. In a football match if you have good timing, you can score and if you do not have good timing, you cannot score. You have scored and that is why you are here again.

Yesterday I saw the 'Maha Alingan' between the present Prime Minister and our Party President. I do not know whether he was told to do that, but I was very happy to see the 'Alingan' that was there. So long as you keep that closeness between you two, there will be no problem. This two-man coordination will be the real coordination. In between, myself, Shri Sharad Pawar, etc.. will be there but everything depends on you, on those who are above 75 years. Let us have a person above 75 years of age to run this country as a matured politician.

If I have said anything wrong, please excuse me for that. I am not a good speaker and that is why my Party did not allow me to speak. Shri Sharad Pawar knows it. He decides on the list of speakers. I narred in today as my name was not there I requested him to allow me to speak as I have some important things to say. They thought that perhaps I will appear on the national hook-up and thus become a contender for something. I am not interested in anything.

With these wards, I thank you all and thank the President of India for having brought us back in the House. We feel proud of our Speaker. You are a smiling Speaker and may you be there.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What about your supporting the motion?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Yes, I support the Confidence Motion wholeheartedly along with all the Members of my Party.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have carefully listened to the discussion which have taken place today. The discussion was less lively. Sometimes there was more heated discussion and sometimes it was full of humour. There should have been serious discussion on the confidence motion moved by the new Prime Minister. After all, why did the need of a new Prime Minister arise for the country after ten months? We claim that India is the largest democracy in the world. However, political instability does not send any right signed about this country.

Today, the friends of congress opened their mouth but the things remained unclear. Nobody would believe the fact that they did not speak on that day because they respected Deve Gowdaji. They had made

Deve Gowdaji their target and they had centred their total opposition against Deve Gowdaji. I would like to mention which that can a party has somehow been associated with power during the last fifty years be allowed to behave in this manner? Has it no responsibility the public? The secret of March 30, incident has not been disclosed so far. Shri Santosh Mohan Dev was just saying that they would play on the day when they would get the maximum advantage. This is not a match of cricket. It is playing with the fate of 90 crore people of the country. We had said it earlier also we repeat it again today that it is true that no single party have got majority in the election but the people's mandate was not for the Government which has been formed. Now the new fall of United Front under the leadership of the new Prime Ministers, also does not ensure stability. The Prime Minister has been changed. Shri Chidambaram is not in the cabinet. He has delivered a good speech. He did not mention the reasons for his not joining the Government. Earlier, T.M.C. which was a part of the United Front was in the Government but it is not participating today. Does the United Front becomes strong or weak from it? There is no change in the role of the CPI(M). They would support from outside and would not join the Government. A new four castes system is being set up in the country and the communists are new *Brahmins* in that system who would suggest legislation, give directions as to which is to be touched and which is not to be touched and determine the untouchables and touchables. However, they would not sit together across the table, exchange views or share meal because they are the *Brahmins* of a new system. There are *Khatriyas* also who think that it is their right to rule and they speak in fascist tone in this House which is the highest temple of democracy that they would not allow so and so party to come to power. Who are they to stop us? If the people of the country have decided that we would rule the country, then you cannot prevent us. When I hear it from the mouth of such a hon'ble Member of Parliament who is withholding the responsibility of the defence of the country and who has only 17 MP's with him. I feel perplexed. This is not the language of democracy. We have not come here with his kindness.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We also have not come with your kindness.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : We have never said so. We never speak this type of language. Shri Chander Shekhar ji tried to bring the discussion to the highest level while maintaining the dignity. It is the highest institution of people's representatives. There should be a semblance of decency in the use of words. I did not like it. The words our friend from Akali Dal had spoken unintentionally, were taken back by him. We always ask our members to refrain from using indecent language. There should be at least one place where even serious difference are expressed in a decent language and this is such a place. But here challenges are being thrown.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today the United Front is not so strong as it was ten month ago. You would say as to why I was worried over it. We are afraid that a new confidence motion may again be brought here. The T.M.C. has not joined. The C.P.M. is supporting from outside and the congress is also supporting from outside. The way the Hon'ble Members of the Congress have delivered speeches, should alert the people in power. If the people noted for a coalition Government, it was not for a minority Government. Coalition means participation of big parties in the Government also. Today, the name of the President was refered to. That is why I am mentioning his name. We requested the President that he should persuade the Congress and the United Front to form a Coalition Government. The Party having 142 members is supporting from outside.

The C.P.M. and the T.M.C. are also supporting from outside. If all these are counted together, their number would be 215. We have 204 members including those of the B.J.P., the Shiv Sena, the Siromani Akali Dal, the Samata Party, the Haryana Vikas Party. The B.S.P. is also separate. As far as we are concerned there is no question of joining the Government. In this way, if 284 and 215 are added, then 419 members are out of power. Thus, 419 members out of 546 members are out of power. How this Government would be stable? Instability is inberent in it. When the United Front was formed, the Congress had decided to support from outside, the atmosphere was then good.

Today the atmosphere is full of bitterness. Shri Deve Gowda has been made a scapegoat. The Front ditched its leader. "Sarvnashe Samutpanne ardham tyajati Pandita". When everything seems to be going out of hand, the other half should be ditched. If has been said in the *Shastras*. If Shri Deve Gowda goes, let him go, but power should be retained. But there are in the Government. There is need of reconsidering it. Can't there be such coalition governments which has the participation of like minded people? We have also experimented with the supports to the Government from outside. On the basis of our experience we are saying that participation in the government is necessary, the outside support would not do. The difficulties of outside support will surface after some day. There should not be any objection on the participation in power. The Congress had supported earlier also but it withdraw it later. I don't want to go into its detail. I don't want to say that the Congress has been doing so. I am raising my point on a separate level.

Untouchability has been abolished by law but political untouchability has been increasing. I want to welcome the statement of Shri Sarad Pawar in which it has been said that they didn't believe in political untouchability. But our friend believe in it and therefore,

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

I said that if the Brahmins of new class system are the communist, some parties which want to remain in power and would not allow anyone to forward, are *Khatriyas*. The congress are *Vaishyas* and we are the new *Sudras*. We are untouchable for them and they should not touch us. But we are the citizens of this country. We believe in democracy. We have come here after winning the election. When our strength had been reduced to two in this House, we had not crossed the limit and today we have emerged as the largest single party. It is not because we encourage communalism. The issue of communalism was the biggest issue in your election manifesto. What had been alleged in the charge sheet by the Congress?

The first charge is that the law and order situation has worsened and the congress in concerned over it. The second charge is that economy is direction less and as result, the prices have risen and the unemployment has also increased. The third charge mentions communalism. The crisis of communalism has deepened. The fourth charge is that there is lack of coordination in the functioning of the Government. The fifth charge is that the principle of collective responsibility of the council of Ministers has been completely ignored which is necessary to be maintained for any parliamentary form of Government. It has been stated further in the letter that Deve Gowda Government has side tracked the important national issues and that there is no law and order. The statement of the Home Minister has also been reffered to in the letter in which he had said that there was lawlessness, anarchy in Uttar Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh has been heading towards destruction. The matter did not end there. Deve Gowda Government has also been put in the dock regarding the sensitive issues of the defence of the country. It has been stated in the letter that attention has not been paid to the sensitive issues of defence and the requirements of defence. It has also been stated that the morals of civil administration has been decreasing along with the national defence and the different organs of the Government are feeling discouraged. There is neither coordination in the Government, nor has the Government any direction nor is there will power to run the Government due to which a situation of directionlessness has been created. This is the chargesheet of the supporting party. The Congress President did not go to the Steering Committee or the leaders of the United Front with his grievances, if any. What was the need to go to the President? The President should not have been dragged into this whole controversy. The Budget session was going on. The Congress could have challenged the Government by bringing cut motion. My friend Shri George Fernandes is not present here now. In the beginning of the Budget session, he has suggested that a no-confidence motion should have been brought. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you know that the congress itself could have brought a no-confidence motion. Its fate could have been decided in the House. What was the need to involve the President? By doing so, the dignity of the House would have been uphold and the democracy would have strengthened. But the relation become so strained that he reached the Rastrapati Bhawan directly. Even the rounds of talks were not hold. If the relation had strained with Shri Deve Gowda, the whole of the cabinet was there. All have come back except Shri Deve Gowda. I don't blame them. After all they have to take care of the country. How can they give up their responsibility? But why did the congress withdraw support on 30th only? This question has not so far been answered. Why did it adopt such a way? It is yet to be replied to. I am concerned over the speeches made by the members of the congress today. The Government should be stable and it is necessary for the progress of the country. But it does not seem to me that this Government would be stable in this situation. If it would, then the form of the coalition Government would have to be changed. You are not prepared for that. It is difficult to work unitedly inspite of the differences. After all, politics is the game of power. These should be participation in it. I thought that today the members of the Congress would be speaking and they would tell us as why did they chose 30th...*(Interruptions)* Why not 29th? They could have done so after March 30. The reason has not been disclosed so far and they are talking of transparency and faith here...*(Interruptions)* We don't know, we are asking from you. You have taken the responsibility of the Government and you have decided to support. But we want your reply. The country wants your reply.

I would like to refer to the last speech of Shri Deve Gowda, if it is any indication. Shri Deve Gowda denied the charge that he wanted to divide the congress. No one stood up than and said that he wanted to divide the congress, so that was why the crisis had arisen. They say that they respected Deve Gowdaji. They did not respect him when they remove him from Prime Ministership and they respected him while giving the right reply in the House. Deve Gowdaji said that on the next day of withdrawal of support by the Congress, he had asked all the parties in the United Front and they had said :—

[English]

> "No, no, you must not resign. You should go before the House. We must test and we must find out who is who."

[Translation]

Deve Gowdaji had came to the House on this assurance only . He was ready to resign immediately after withdrawal of support, so and he should have resigned. However, he was given an assurance not to worry. The manner in which speech of Deve Gowdaji, was being applauded, showed that it was the real support. On that day, Shri Das Munsi had also said.

[English]

I did not accuse him entirely.

[Translation]

These are the words of Das Munsiji. If the chargesheet was against the whole cabinet, why was Deve Gowda alone made the target? If law and order had worsened, was the Minister of Home Affairs not responsible for that? Comrade Inderjit Gupta has come back and he is holding the charge of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Is he satisfied whether the law and order situation has improved or worsened? Has the law and order situation in the country Improved or worsened during the last three weeks? You did not even spare two issue of defence. The Defence Minister is here. Had the Defence Minister failed in fulfilling his duties? Were the important issues of national defence not overlooked? This was your charge. This Charge was not levelled in smaller court, but it was levelled before the President. Where is that chargesheet now. Do you expect that everything would go smooth even after the chargesheet.

The United Front has sacrificed Deve Gowda but basic structure has not been changed. It was paid about Deve Gowda that he was an injured soldier. Who did injure him? We did not. He did not got injured himself. You were his supporter and he was the soldier of their army. Did both of you, together or separately, not injure him? On that day he spoke with a heavy heart. I do agree that the manner in which Kesriji was referred to on that day, that should have been avoided. But how could he avoid that.

The Congress President wrote a letter to the President. Kesriji is the President of the Congress. Perhaps, he is making preparations for becoming the next President. I don't know whether he would become or not. I cannot say what would happen in future. It is very difficult to make forecast in this regard. But I would like to quote what Deve Gowdaji had said on that day.

[English]

> "...Now, under what circumstances did I become the Prime Minister? On the one side there was the CBI enquiry...*(Interruptions)*
>
> On the one side, CBi inquiry...*(Interruptions)*
>
> COL. RAO RAM SINGH (Mahendergarh) : What is the inquiry?...*(Interruptions)*
>
> SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : There are several cases. I do not want to go into details ...*(Interruptions)*...I have not ordered a single case against any political leader in the last ten months. All these cases were the previous issues...*(Interruptions)*
>
> COL. RAO RAM SINGH : What is that Shri Rajesh Pilot's letter, Mr. Prime Minister?"
>
> Shri Rajesh Pilot was just here.

[English]

> That was the question. What is that Shri Rajesh Pilot's letter?
>
> SHRI H.D. DEVE GOWDA : ...I have not passed orders about anybody or to hold an inquiry or to conduct an inquiry by the CBI in the last ten months. But, I have not interfered. I have not interfered in any case, including that of my own Chief Minister. My own Party's prestige is involved here. Whether the things are moving in the right direction or not, I do not want to comment on that."

[Translation]

Who is the Chief Minister whom the former Prime Minister referred to but did not take his name? At the same time, the former Prime Minister states that he had not interfered. It means when he was Prime Minister, he was asked to interfere but he refused to do so. Was this the reason for which they felt offended and a conspiracy was hatched to remove him?

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel Atalji was speaking rightly and whatever he had said, the spirit of the same should be taken into account. Many people of his Party are also involved in various cases. He had stated from the core of his heart that there should not interfere in any case. Therefore, it is not proper to quote him out of the context.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not distorting the facts but I am drawing a general conclusion from those words. He had stated clearly that among the persons against whom the allegations had been made and the enquiry was being conducted in the cases, included a Chief Minister of his Party also — this is what I am saying - but Yadavji, you must be knowing more than I know you please tell the House the name of that Chief Minister.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Atalji, you know that Shri Laloo Prasad is our Party President. Fodder Scam is being enquired into and findings of the same has not been received so far. It is not proper to create doubt and reach any conclusion before the outcome of the inquiry...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am not making any inference...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : When the allegation was made against Advaniji, none of the Members of our Party has uttered a word about that and now when he has been acquitted we have adopted the same stand. Today, I am telling you that the matter is being

[Shri Sharad Yadav]

investigated and no outcome has been received so far. Therefore, it is improper to say anything about it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : My dear friend Shri Sharad Yadav, you please do not compare Advaniji with Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav. When allegations were made against Shri Advani, he resigned from the membership of Lok Sabha. He also refused to contest the Lok Sabha election and vowed that he would not fight election until he was acquitted of the charges. On the other hand, your Chief Minister says that even if he is sent to jail, he would rule therefrom...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Atalji, please do not think so. There were people in this party also. I was also present in the House. You are talking about comparison. I have not committed any sin, but I have been implicated. When the truth about the innocent people of Bihar comes out, you would know the reality. Hence, it is not proper to say anything before that. Well, we people have come to power first time after thousands of years. Therefore, comparison cannot be made between you and us. You have the gift of the gab about which we and the entire House know. But you should avoid saying anything and drawing conclusion until the charges are proved. After charges are proved, I will not stop you from speaking.

So far as the comparison between you and us is concerned, it cannot be possible because when we speak it is not covered by the media, while your whole speech would be covered by them...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : What are you saying...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : We know all these things. You have spoken in this House I have also spoken in this House. Even five lines of my speech were not published in the all newspaper, whereas your full speech was covered by them. There is a great difference between you and I. You were talking about caste system ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You have again raised the issue of caste system...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Atalji, you belong to high Caste and you are already in the mainstream. Hence you are leading a comfortable life. There is definitely a difference between you and I. There is no doubt that we both cannot be compared with each other ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV : You are rich and we people are poor...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am sorry that media is being dragged into this matter unnecessarily. This is not the proper way. Sometimes my statement is not published while your speech is covered in toto...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Vajpayeeji, Whatever you have stated, I would like to say something about that. You please listen to me for a minute ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Yes, whatever I have said, that is correct. I am not yielding. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not taking my seat...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : When the court acquitted me of the charges and I was proved innocent in the case related to Muzaffarnagar incident, why did you continue to mention that incident daily ...*(Interruptions)* If you raise this issue, other issues will also crop up. You should not think so, other issues would definitely come up. In the judgement of Court in regard to the incident of Muzaffarnagar the charge made against me was not proved.

Despite that you continued to mention it daily. If it is so, then each and every file should be gone through so that all facts are revealed...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want an assurance from the new Prime Minister that proper enquiry into the cases which are being investigated by the C.B.I. should be held and pressure should not be put on the cases which are pending in the Court. There should not be any hush up. I want this assurance only. Today, in the morning, when the Prime Minister was delivering his speech, he had said during the course of his speech that there should not be witch-hunting. I had then asked him whether witch-hunting was going on? If it has not so then then there was no need to say like this. It is obvious that if there is witch-hunting. The Court would check it. The Court would interfere. Justice demands that the innocent should not be punished and the guilty should not be spared. Whatever Shri Deve Gowda had stated on that day, I have quoted the same before you. The words speak for themselves they give the indication.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to mention one more point i.e. communalism. There is danger to secularism. Therefore all the supporters of secularism should unite. They can quarrel among themselves but when they write again, they should support secularism. How long it will continue. We are marching forward, whereas those supporting secularism one back trecking. The country must be secular. I had said on that day also that this country would always remain a secular country. But, has there been any self introspection on this question? Is anybody ready to make self introspection to know as to what is happening?

Our friends of Congress Party should listen this point attentively. Gadgil Saheb is their party spokesman. I am quoting from his book. Some quotations are lengthy but, I can not restrain myself. Therefore, I am quoting.

[English]

The title of this book is '1996 Mandate — its Meaning and Message' — V.N. Gadgil. I quote :

> "Today, after the defeat in the Lok Sabha elections of 1996, I am not demanding that we should reconsider secularism. My insistence is that we must re-examine the contents of the Congress concept of secularism. This is the basic difference between myself and Shri Vajpayee. Shri Vajpayee wants that secularism should be reconsidered." — though I never said that. "My demand is not for reconsideration of secularism. Shri Vajpayee wants a national debate on the issue of secularism. My demand is limited. I want a debate on the issue within the Congress party because in my view, the basic and most important reason for our defeat is the ambiguous and unclear nature of Congress concept of secularism."

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : This is Gadgil's view, not the Congress view. I can quote many books of yours which are not BJP's view...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (Shahabad) : People cast their votes in our favour for 40 years...*(Interruptions)* They rejected us only once...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : All right, you disown him. I do not mind. You are fit to do that. Please do not interrupt me. He is your spokesperson. Listen what Shri Gadgil says :

> "The rank and file of the Congress party is totally confused about the Congress concept of secularism.

Shri Gadgil does not stop here. He further says :

> "The second reason for defeat of Congress is unclear and ambiguous nature of Congress concept of secularism. Does it mean *dharmanirpekshta* or *sarva dharma sambhav?* The word *dharmanirpekshta* gives an impression that Congress is opposed to any kind of religion. In other words, the Congress stands for atheism. The result is that both Hindus and Muslims are alienated by *dharmanirpekshta* — concept of secularism. If by secularism Congress means *sarva dharma sambhav,* neither Hindus nor Muslims find it is the behaviour and action of the Congress party. Many Muslim friends say to me that the lock of the Ayodhya temple was broken during the Congress regime, *shilanyas* was performed during the Congress regime and the mosque was destroyed during the Congress regime. Is this secularism? On the other hand, Hindus say: Concession is given in air fare to Muslims going for *Haj* pilgrimage and it costs the nation Rs. 60 crore, but similar concession in railway fare is not given to Hindu pilgrims when they go to Pashupati temple in Nepal. Is this Congress secularism? It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider the contents of the Congress concept of secularism. It is no longer true that the B.J.P. is a party of only Brahmins d *Banias.* We must not forget that ousands of *Dalits* took part in the *Kar seva* at Ayodhya. The B.J.P. has won 29 Scheduled Caste seats and 14 *Adivasi* seats. Are we not going to draw any lesson from these facts?

Sir, there is one more paragraph. I quote :

> Congress concept of secularism is based on disassociating religion from politics. But the Congress has not taken clear stand on disassociating politics from casteism. Casteism is, perhaps, a greater danger to secularism than communalism. Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan is reported to have said that the United Front Government is the first Government which has not got a single Minister from upper caste. The question, therefore, arises is : 'Is not casteism as dangerous as communalism in the Congress concept of secularism?'
>
> When some Congressmen say that the Government in Maharashtra is the Government of 'Joshi', 'Mahajan' and 'Brahmins', instead of describing it as B.J.P. - Shiv Sena Government, can Congressmen really claim that they are secular?

[Translation]

These views are not ours. The leader and the Spokesman of the Congress has expressed these views. You must do self introspection in this regard... As much as you are critising us, our influence and strength is increasing in the same proportion. It is not the defect of secularism. There is a need of 'Sarv Dharma Sambhav' which means respect from all religious equally. the correct translation of secularism is *'Sampradaya Nirpekshta'* and not *'Dharm Nirpehshta'.* We should understand that this country can never become non religious, and it can not be anti-religious ...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA) : Will you yield for one minute?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Yes, Panditji. Maharaj. You certainly speak.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : You are talking about *'Sarv Dharma Sambhav'* rightly. But is it allowed therein

[Shri Chaturanan Mishra]

to damage the mosque and threaten daily to build a temple there? I would like to know from you whether the theory which you have been advocating in case of Mathura, and Banaras, is according to the principle of '*Sarva Dharm Sambhav*'.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE ; Pandit ji Maharaj. You know the answer of the question which is being asked here. We have clarified several times that whatever happened in Ayodhya, was an accident, that was a tragedy...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : You tell it to all those who support you...*(Interruptions)* You see how they react.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Sir, please allow me for one minute...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to Shri Vajpayee.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : You tell them who are supporting you...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You can not deny this fact that there are same religious places in the country which are under dispute. You have enacted a legislation recently. Why did not you cover Ayodhya therein. On the other hand, You have included Kashi and Mathura therein...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : Legislation has been enacted for Kashi and Mathura but you oppose it there.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Why didn't you include Ayodhya?

Those who are opposing let them oppose but you should not commit a sin by instigating communalism. you should keep this thing in mind that you cannot combat communalism by encouraging communalism.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Sir, there is one question which he asked me and I could not reply to his satisfaction. I would like to ask Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee: 'Will you kindly favour and tell this House as to what was the auspicious day of 6th December, 1992 for demolishing Babri Masjid?' Why not on 5th or 7th of December?...*(Interruptions)* Kindly explain it to us. I want to understand it...*(Interruptions)* I am a novice in politics.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at that time Congress party was in power and Shri Narsimha Rao was the Prime Minister. If he want to seek any information he can obtain it from Shri Rao who is sitting beside him. Why does he ask cetuers?

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee may kindly respond. It was a matter relating to what my friends have called a structure at Ayodhya and what we call Babri Masjid. It was subject matter of a judicial proceeding. The State Government had given a solemn assurance to the nation and the Supreme Court of this country to protect it. What did you do? What your party and your Government did do to protect this?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE (Thane): For how many years will it continue? Whay are they asking for it?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Not one word of condemnation has been said. We want to know how could you say so...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE : They have got only one subject to say that they are secular...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, you allow me to speak. I am not replying to this. Let there be a debate. You fix a time and we will have a comprehensive debate on this...*(Interruptions)*.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, before concluding I would like to submit one more point.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The Ayodhya mosque was not mentioned in that Bill because of the Supreme Court case. There was an undertaking to protect the mosque. Therefore, he has no reply to this.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the statement of the new Prime Minister that the country should be run on the basis of consensus, not confontation. Consensus on the issue of foreign policy has always been there since long in the country and as a Foreign Minister, Shri Gujral has made efforts to more forwarded by evolving a consensus and strengthen it. He has no doubt, got success in it. We want that our relations with 'neighbouring countries should be improved. I would like to tell that our neighbours should not consider our generosity as our weakness and they should not make any attempt to take undue advantage of it.

If Prime Minister wants to run the country on the basis of consensus, we assure him of our constructive cooperation so that country can make progress. Despite differences and struggle for power, there is only one way for making progress and that is to run country on the basis of consensus and if the Prime Minister follows this path. We would cooperate with him certainly.

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI I.K. GUJRAL) : Mr. Speaker. Sir,...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

Very good. No, I have no difficulty in speaking in Hindi. I was simply thinking...*(Interruptions)* I have heard your voice...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you making noise? The interpretation is available there. You cannot make a demand like that. The Prime Minister will speak in the language of his choice.

SHRI R.G. NANAGURUSWAMY (Peiryakulam) : He should speak in English.

SHRI S.K. KARVENDHAN (Palani) : Why should the reply not be in English?

MR. SPEAKER : You cannot make a demand like that.

[Translation]

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying that I had heard your voice. My friends had met me in the morning and they had praised me for having delivered my speech in Hindi after assuming this post.

Hindi is my mother tongue, I have been brought up in the same language and I also represent the same culture from which this language has originated. All languages whether it is Hindi or Urdu have originated in this country. They have not come from outside.

21.00 hrs.

Therefore, whenever I speak this language, a common man can understand it, I am neither a 'Pandit', nor a 'Gyani' nor a 'Maulavi'. I am of the view that whosever speaks from this post in any language, his line of communication should be linked with his people. I was trying to speak in English because there are so many people in the country who do not understand Hindi even today.

I spoke in Hindi in the morning and if you permit, I would like to speak no in English so that my voice could reach to those people who do not understand Hindi.

[English]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I rise this evening to continue what I had submitted to the House this morning seeking its confidence, I am not in a mood to defend or offend anybody. That was not my purpose. My purpose basically was that we, in this House, should look at my commitments that I was trying to make in the morning itself. The debate, as it developed, has highlighted two things. One is, all sections of the House have tried to mention my name in their words for which I am grateful and therefore that induces more humility in me. So, when I speak from this seat and when I look down in this seat, there are three blocks shown here. One of these shows that Jawaharlal Nehru sat here. The second block says that Indira Ganghi sat here. The third one says that Lal Bahadur Shastri also sat here. When I look at their names, I find myself a very small person, I find myself a very humble person. But I am grateful to you that you have honoured me. The more you honour me, the more humble, I feel.

[Translation]

Which is called 'Namrata' in Hindi. I speek with humility and I would like to submit that whatever promises I had made in the morning, I stick to them. Before speaking further. I would like to make clear that I had begun my speech with a point in the morning.

[English]

In the morning I had said that I am speaking on the 50th year of Indian Independence. This 50th year is not just numerical because everybody adds years. You cannot stop that process; whether we think in terms of an individual's age or we think interms of the growth of a nation or we think in terms of the development of history, there are certain factors which are beyond us and adding years is one of them. Therefore, when we look at 50 years of India's Independence, I think, as a nation, we owe to ourselves and I mean, all sections of the House not me only. We owe to ourselves to look back and also look forward.

When we look back, I reminded in the morning to my friends that we look back with a great deal of pride-not only me, not only the friends who are sitting here, but all sections of the House-the legacy of the freedom struggle. That freedom struggle was not fought by one individual. It was not fought by one particular party, although Congress was the name. But Congress was a platform and Congress had a bigger dimension than the party think of itself today.

I do not know how many amongst us or in this House choose to remember that tradition when Congress was not only spelling out that why it was resisting and fighting colonialism, but it was also spelling out, at the same time, the future of India. I think our freedom struggle was unique in one sence which I cannot think of in any other freedom struggle in the world that while fighting, while struggling and while resisting imperialism, we were spelling out the future of India.

The forefathers or the founders or whatever you might call them, call it Mahatma Gandhi, call it Jawaharlal Nehru, call it Sardar Patel, call it Maulana Azad or whatever you might call, they spelt out for us what shall be the shape of India. The Constitution of India is not just a document, it is not just a book, although we take pride in saying that the authorship of this, to a large extent, is due to the contribution made by Baba Sahev Ambedkar, but it spelt out those very promises which the freedom struggle had made.

[Shri I.K. Gujral]

One promise was democracy. The second promise was unity of India and also a unity of diverse India. This promise was made by saying that we, as I said in the morning in Hindi, belong to different religions, We have different ways of lives and we speak different languages; yet we are one. The freedom struggle unified us and that is one of the things which freedom struggle gave us. It also gave us a liberal outlook as my friend Shri Chidambaram was saying. The liberal outlook was not spelt out by me or by the college or by the school where I went. The liberal attitude was given to me by those who were leading the freedom struggle. They said that unless your mind is open, unless your heart is open, unless your outlook is wide and unless your vision is wide you can never lead India. That is what we are trying to follow, It is there in the legacy of India. Therefore, I only promise myself to you that if by chance of history or by whatever luck you might say, I have been called upon to sit here, I want to uphold that legacy.

That legacy has also spelt out the postulates of Indian future and India' future held many promises. As I said, it also made promise to those who go by the name of Sheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes first and foremost. I remember-as a younger man and many of you might have been younger men- when the freedom struggle was going on, Gandhiji went on an epic fast. Why did Gandhiji fast? Pandit Jawahar Nehru wrote an article at that time and I remember that article. Pandit Nehru thought at that time that Ganghiji was derailing the freedom struggle. He said, 'perhaps he was defocussing the issue from the main struggle to the other side'. He went on a fast to emphasise one thing that every human being has a right to go to a temple of his choice. That is why, he went on a fast and he was going to die. That was the spelling of Gandhiji and that is why Gandhiji became the Mahatma and that is what elevated him. When he elevated himself, he saw the miseries of that man who was denied entry to a temple and he saw the humiliation of that man. He saw the indignity of that man and when he saw the indignity and inhumanity of that man he said, 'I would rather lay my life for this till he enters the temple'. Gandhiji himself never went to a temple. He was a religious person but not of a temple going type. He was not a ravivalist. He was not an obscurantist. He was one of the most modern men in our history who were ever born. He transformed our social thinking.

I remember again, if I may turn slightly autobiographical that when my mother went to jail for the first time, my grandmother wept and wept for days and she said that she was not crying because her daughter had gone to jail, but that she could not show her face in her village because they would say, 'your daughter has gone to jail'. Gandhiji turned it into dignity and going to jail became an emblem of dignity. He turned our values. Again the values he turned were to treat human beings as human beings. We may be Muslims and we may be Hindus. I do not want to spell out the castes, there are several, yet there is unity in India. The unity of India will never be physical unity. We unify the nation not in terms of making the Constitution or laws here. We can unify the hearts.

My friends there were asking about the status of Muslims; some friends were asking about the status of Sikhs; and some Members were asking me about the status of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They all represent human beings. They all represent the aspirations. They all represent their stake in this nation. Unify them and India is unified, divide them and India is gone.

What are we discussing today? Are we trying to define secularism? Are we defining this 'ism' and that 'ism'? Are we writing a thesis for a doctorate? Are we going to Harvard university to tell them how we look at that? We spelt it out in terms of our own experience; we spelt it out in terms of our social reality; and we spelt it out in terms of our legacy. If these three things are kept in mind then verything falls in its own place.

We may differ in this House. I have respect for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee beyond my words. When he was the Foreign Minister I was his Ambassador. I know his values. I know what he believes in and what I know, I respect him for that. There may be difference of opinion amongst us and that is what democracy is all about. If there is a difference of opinion then what can one do?

Of course, Shrimati Sushma Swaraj is sitting there.

She was very eloquent. I do not know how to reply. Only one couplet of Urdu comes to my mind.

Tum Mukhatib Bhi Ho, Karib Bhi Ho
Main Tumko Dekhoon Ya Tumse Bat Karoon.

This is the situation. But all the same, I think, now we have come to a stage when we have to look in terms of several things. In the morning, Sir, I talked about the security of India. We know that a massive nation like the Soviet Union collapsed. We hve seen it. Why did it collapse? I think, Atalji should tell us more than that I can tell you. I had lived in that society for five years, which looked so durable, which had all the tanks, which had all the planes, which had everything, but it collapsed. Internal security was not there. People had lost faith in their internal security.

I went there recently and I was asking one of my old friends of those days, who even now occupies a very important position in the present system. I said, "I am dying with wonder; I lived here for five years, everything looked fine, but then what happened?" This gentleman, I do not want to name him because he might be embarrassed there, said that he could tell me only one thing, that is, that they never had a State; they had a party. When that party collapsed, the State collapsed.

That is what we want to avoid here. We do want to make a situation where State is not more important than anything else. State is supreme and State does not belong to a single party. State does not belong to a single ideology. State does not belong to a single religion. State does not belong to a single caste. State belongs to all of us and the State of India, the glorious State of India, the great State of India, which has survived will survive if all of us place faith in that. Now, State speaks through the people. State always speaks through institutions. Judiciary is one of them. If we make a promise to the judiciary and do not fulfil it, the State is harmed. Let us not do it. State also speaks through this House. If we do not really spell out and also respect them, then you cannot hold my hand, Rashtrpathiji cannot get me arrested, but the State gets damaged. When the State gets damaged, I think the future gets damaged. State also gets damaged when many people lose faith in it. State gets damaged, when a young man is unemployed in the street. He loses faith in the State-first in the Government, and then in the State. You can remove a Government by a vote, but you can only undermine the State. Therefore, this undermining process must be stopped.

When we talk of secularism or we talk in terms of having some sort of a unity amongst us, we want to safeguard that. That is again one of my commitments which I would like to fulfil. I would also like to say, at the same time, that in this country there are several dimensions of our social life. We always take pride in the fact that farmers in this country matter. Yes, they do. And that is why, the great man, Lal Bahadur Sastri, said, "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan". He meant something by that. It was not a mere slogan. He was spelling out India. He knew that India meant these two segments of society particularly. I commit myself to that.

I commit myself also to all those issues which again spell out the policies. Atalji rightly said and I agree with him and I want to endorse it. Why has our foreign policy succeeded? It has not succeeded because Jawaharlal Nahru spelt it out. It has succeeded because when Atalji sat here, he said the same thing. When I sit here, I say the same thing. When Narasimha Raoji sat here, he said the same thing. When Chandra Shekharji sat here, he said the same thing. That is India. That is why, India's foreign policy succeeded. We can differ in details, sometimes. We can differ in drafting, sometimes. But concensus basically means that we uphold it. Why did Narasimha Raoji send Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, year after year, to the United Nations? Why did Narasimha Raoji depute me to the Human Rights Commission when we were confronted by a neighbour, whose name I do not want to mention?

It is because he wanted to give a message which every Prime Minister must give. I will continue to give that message whenever we go abroad, that we are one and we represent India. We do not represent parties. We do not represent differences. We represent the unity of India. That is why, if it is my good luck to sit when the next session of the United Nations comes, I will see that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee will still lead that delegation because he does it so well and I am impressed by his performance. Not only that. He is a high statured man. We in India take pride in this fact and that is our pride I think. Our pride is this that whether my friend Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao or my friend Shri Chandra Shekhar or my friend Shri Sharad Pawar sits here, ultimately when we go abroad, as Sir Winston Churchill once said :-

> "I shall never criticise my nation abroad. I shall never spare it internally."

Therefore, that is how we proceed and that is the basis on which we want to build our nation.

I wanted to have the note which every Prime Minister has been getting from every Department. You know it, Mr. Speaker, you have been a Minister yourself. You know that neither you draft it nor do I. These notes come to me. I could have spelt out those notes and taken this time to spell out the details of policy of every Department. But I know the time is up. I will not take your time for this purpose now. But I will take your time next week when we discuss the Budget because that will be the time for me to spell out the details of policy. Today let me only spell out the postulates and caution the nation only on two things.

Again, I resort to Urdu when I say what Iqbal had once said :-

'Aine Nau sa Darna, Tarje Kohan pe Arana.
Manzil Bhi Kathin Hai, Kaumon ki Zindgi main'

This is a difficult moment for us and at this difficult moment, we must transcend, bypass and swim through collectively together. In our history, we have seen moments when we had made mistakes, but if we had not made those mistakes, we would perhaps not have surpassed.

Again let me conclude by drawing your attention to another Urdu couplet which said :-

'Wo Waqt Bhi Dekhe Hain Tawarikh Ki Rahon Ne
Lamhon Ne Khata Ki Thi, Sadiyon, Ne Saja Pai.'

I do not want the nation to perish. I commit myself only to one thing. My coomitment is born out of my faith in this nation, my faith in the legacy of this nation and my fundamental faith in having that trust in the nation which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru promised. He did not spell out for himself. He was promising for all of us. He was promising for generations to come. I think this burden has come on us now to spell out and see the vision of 2020 not only in terms of years, but also the vision. 20:20 eye sight is always a good eye sight without fail. They are ideal glasses. Anyhow, I try to wear them insofar as political vision is concerned. Let all of us differ a little, please. Sometimes we can disagree. Sometimes we can disagreeably disagree. But let us all the same remember what India we want to build in this

[Shri I.K. Gujral]

50th year of the Indian Republic. In this House, I promise you one thing. I will try to continue practising the type of consensus that I tried to practise and I am glad Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee appreciated that point in the foreign policy. On that consensus basis, I am sure, we all can be proud of India in the coming years.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

> "That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers."

The motion was adopted.

21.20 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE : SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, in view of the fact that the minimum period of 10 days stipulated under Rule 33 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha is not available for tabling Questions for 30th April and 2nd May, 1997, I have decided not to have Question Hour on these two days. Regular Question Hour will start from 5th May, 1997 onwards. The revised chart showing dates of ballots and last dates of receipt of notices of questions is being circulated to the Members. However, at the request of some hon. Members, notices of questions already given for the second phase of the originally scheduled Budget Session, i.e., from 21st April to 9th May, would be revived and considered for admission after suitable adjustments of dates.

The House stands adjourned to meet again on 30th of April, 1997 at 11.00 a.m.

21.21 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, April 30, 1997/Vaisakha 10, 1919 (Saka)